

THE
MILITARY HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM
JULIUS CÆSAR to the CONCLUSION
of the LATE WAR.

CONTAINING
A full and particular DESCRIPTION of the famous
BATTLES of

CRESSEY,	TOURNAY,
AGINCOURT,	OUDENARDE,
NASEBY,	DUMBLAIN,
DUNBAR,	DETTINGEN,
WORCESTER,	FONTENOY,
BLLENHEIM,	PRESTON-PANS,
RAMILLIES,	CULLODEN,
MALPLAQUET,	MINDEN, &c. &c.

WITH AN
INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING
A DESCRIPTION of the INHABITANTS, from
the Earliest ACCOUNTS, with their CUSTOMS,
MANNERS, RELIGION, &c.

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST HISTORIANS, BOTH
ANCIENT AND MODERN,
BY A SOCIETY OF MILITARY GENTLEMEN.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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MILITARY HISTORY
OF GREAT BRITAIN

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIODS
TO THE PRESENT
BY
JAMES F. HARRIS
OF THE
BRITISH MUSEUM



INTRODUCTION
A SHORT HISTORY OF THE
MUSEUM
BY
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THE
BRITISH MUSEUM
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MILITARY HISTORY

OF
BRITAIN.

JULIUS CÆSAR, one of those mighty thunderbolts of war, who laid waste several kingdoms, and gave up others, though at the expence of great multitudes of Romans who accompanied him in his enterprizes, was born seventy-nine years before Christ, and in the six hundred and forty-fourth year of Rome, in the month of July, from which he took his name, and was the first who invaded Britain. Some difference happening to arise between him and Sylla, he left Rome, and served under Marcus Minutius Thermus, at that time prætor of Asia. He sent him into Bithynia, and gave him command of a fleet to assist at the siege of Mytilene, where he distinguished himself greatly, and obtained many civic crowns. Sylla being dead, Cæsar returned again to Rome, and applied himself to the study of eloquence; and at the age of twenty-four equalled the oldest generals in prudence and bravery, for which he was raised to all the offices of legionary, tribune, questor, and at last to the ædalship. In this employment he finished the Appian way, mostly at his own expence, entertaining the people with several shews of gladiators, and using every other po-

pular art, which he judged might gain the affections of the people: though by these expensive amusements he run himself in no less debt than 200,41,1000,875 pounds sterling. The government of Spain falling to him, he was arrested when he was setting out, and Crassus was his bail. He was of a most ambitious and restless disposition, and was heard to say, That he would rather be the first man amongst a set of barbarians, though in the most wretched situation for climate and poverty, than the second man in Rome. His restless disposition soon caused him to make war on the innocent Spaniards. He subdued several nations which had never been subject to the Romans, and after having settled his province in peace, returned to Rome, paid his former debts, and got the lands of Compagnia, which belonged to the republic, divided amongst such poor citizens as had three or more children. He went on from one victory to another, till he had reduced all Gaul, and struck a terror into all the neighbouring nations. He at last resolved to push his victories into Britain, but being ignorant of the country, he sent Caius Volusenus with a galley to gain intelligence of the extent of it, the customs, manners, and nature of its inhabitants, and by what powerful states it was inhabited. In the mean time, he ordered a large fleet to be equipped, to attend him in this expedition, which he intended should be from the coast of Picardy, being the shortest passage between France and England. The Britons hearing of this, were greatly alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Cæsar, offering to submit to Rome, and promised to give hostages for the performance of their engagements. Cæsar encouraged them with fair promises, and sent a messenger with them, who had orders to visit as many states as he could, and to persuade them to come under the Roman yoke, informing them, that in a short time he would come and visit their country in person. In five days time Volusenus returned, after having taken

a view of the island from his ship, for he was afraid to venture himself on shore. Upon which Cæsar embarked with two legions, in eighty transports, and appointed more to follow with the cavalry. He arrived in a few hours on the British coast; but it was so well defended by the inhabitants, that he did not chuse to land, but sent out scouts to view the coast, where he might land with the least danger. In the mean time, the rest of the ships having joined him, he called a council of war, informed his officers of what particulars Volusenus had told him, and then sailed to a plain open shore, about eight miles further.

The Britons observing Cæsar's design, sent their chariots and cavalry first to oppose his landing, which they hoped easily to accomplish, as his ships were so large, that they could not come near enough the shore to land, without hazarding the lives of the soldiers. Cæsar therefore was obliged to order his long gallies to lay their broadsides to the shore, and with their engines, flings and arrows, oblige the Britons to retire from it. The Roman soldiery having the disadvantage of their heavy armour, the weight of which, and the waves of the sea, incommoded them so much, that they were afraid to venture, till the standard-bearer of the tenth legion threw himself into the sea with the Roman eagle, crying out, Fellow soldiers, I am resolved to discharge my duty to the commonwealth, and unless you are determined to forsake your colours, and suffer the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me. Upon which the soldiers, unwilling to suffer such a disgrace, cast themselves boldly into the sea, and pressing forward, began the fight. This first landing of the Romans in Britain was fifty-four years before the coming of Christ, and the six hundred and ninety-fourth year of Rome. The battle proved sharp on both sides, but the Romans at length gained firm ground, and pressed the enemy so hard, that they put them to flight. Upon this defeat, the Britons sent ambassadors

to sue for peace. Cæsar having upbraided them with their breach of faith, in having made war upon him after they had sent ambassadors to Gaul desiring a peace, they blamed the multitude, and promised to give hostages for their true performance of articles for the future. In four days after their landing in Britain a peace was concluded, and the British princes disbanded their men, and came and submitted themselves to Cæsar.

The ships that had been employed to bring over his cavalry had been driven by contrary winds over to the ports of Gaul; and the same storm greatly damaged his ships on the British coast. The British princes perceiving this, and imagining that from the small numbers he had he might be easily overcome, they delayed performing their agreement, and bringing the hostages that they had promised. In the mean time Cæsar repaired his ships in the best manner he could, and brought in all the provisions he could find in the neighbouring country. The seventh legion being sent to forage, were attacked by a party of Britons, who, having raised a great army, boldly advanced to the Roman camp. Upon which Cæsar drew out his legions, and gave them so warm a reception, that they immediately turned their backs, and fled. He pursued them, made a great slaughter, burnt several towns and villages, and then returned to his camp.

After this defeat, the Britons sent the same ambassadors to sue for peace, which Cæsar readily granted, upon their promising to send him double the number of hostages to Gaul. He being afraid to hazard his ships on the British coast, immediately set sail. The senate being informed of his exploits in Britain, ordered a general thanksgiving to be made, which lasted twenty days. The Britons however again broke promise; only two states of the kingdom sent him hostages. Upon which Cæsar determined to visit them next spring with a larger force. Accordingly he embarked

with a numerous army, in upwards of eight hundred ships. The Britons fled to the hills, so that he landed without any opposition. Cæsar being informed after landing his troops where the Britons were encamped, having left a sufficient guard to take care of his camp, marched about twelve miles in quest of the enemy, whom he found on the other side of a river, resolving to dispute his passage; but the Roman cavalry soon obliged them to quit their post. Upon which they retired into a wood, which before they had strongly fortified, all the avenues being blocked up with huge trees, cut down for that purpose. Here they continued for some time, never venturing out but in small parties. The seventh legion however having thrown up a mount, obliged them to save themselves by flight. Cæsar pursued them with both horse and foot: but in the night a dreadful storm arose, which dashed most of his ships to pieces. Upon this intelligence he hastened back again to his camp. These frequent disasters his ships met with made him resolve upon drawing all his ships on shore, and surrounding them with his camp, which stupendous work he completed in ten days. In the mean time the Britons had several councils among themselves what was best to be done. They chose Cassibelan, king of the Trinobantes, who lived about eighty miles from the sea, and who had often been victorious in battles he had fought with other princes, for their general; so that on Cæsar's arrival he found their numbers greatly increased. The Britons frequently attacked him on his march with their horses and chariots, but were always repulsed with great slaughter, and at last pursued so closely by the Romans, that they could not get down from their chariots to fight in their accustomed manner. Great numbers of them were cut in pieces, which discouraged the rest so much, that they dispersed, and never after could be brought to attack the Romans with their united force. After this Cæsar marched up the country, being resolved to en-

ter the territories of Cassibelan; but when he came to the river Thames, on the opposite side the enemy's forces were drawn up in order of battle, and the only place that could be forded was driven full of stakes. Notwithstanding this, he ordered the cavalry to march in, and the foot to follow, though they were up to the chin in water, with an elephant covered with iron, and a wooden tower on his back. This struck such a terror into the Britons, that they forsook the opposite bank, and fled. This was at Walton in Surry, where some of the stakes are now to be seen at low water. Cassibelan seeing it impossible to overcome the Romans, contented himself with harrassing them on their march, and carrying off all the corn and cattle to hills which were inaccessible to the Romans; so that in a little time the Trinobantes sent ambassadors to Cæsar, promising to submit to him. This he readily granted, upon their sending him forty hostages, and provision for his army. The example of the Trinobantes had such an effect upon the neighbouring princes, that many of them submitted to Cæsar; by which means they had their lands and effects preserved from the plundering of the soldiers.

Cæsar having intelligence that the town of Cassibelan, supposed to be St. Alban's, being well fortified, the country people had retired with their cattle and most valuable effects thither, he marched, and soon took it, slaying a vast number of the Britons. Here he found great store of cattle. Cassibelan persuaded four princes of Kent to join him to oppose the Romans. They accordingly marched to attack Cæsar's camp, where the ships were laid up, but were repulsed with great slaughter. Upon the news of this defeat, Cassibelan sent ambassadors to Cæsar. The summer being now far spent, he accepted the proposals, upon these conditions, that they should pay an annual sum to the Romans; that Cassibelan should not molest the Trinobantes; and that he should deliver a certain number of hostages.

When Cæsar had received them he immediately embarked, and arrived safe on the continent. Upon his arrival at Rome, he offered to Venus a breast-plate, enriched with British pearls, as a trophy of his conquests in Britain.

It does not appear however that the Britons ever paid the Romans any tribute, they being prevented by their intestine broils and wars amongst themselves, after the death of Cæsar, from so much as making the least demand of it. Augustus thrice proposed coming over and making them stand to their former bargain, but was hindered by troubles nearer home. In the mean time, several of the British princes made him presents, and sued for peace, which was readily granted them. Tiberius, his successor, took no notice of the island. The next emperor, Caligula, made a foolish expedition, causing his men to fill their helmets with cockle-shells upon the shore, which he carried to Rome, as trophies of a real conquest, for which he demanded a triumph, which the senate refusing, would have lost their heads, had he not been taken off by a conspiracy.

The next emperor was Claudius. One Bercius, who had attempted to raise a sedition in Britain, fled to Rome, and persuaded the emperor to invade the island. In the mean time, the noble Britons sent an ambassador to demand the rebel; but Claudius, instead of obliging them, demanded a tribute from them. This enraged them so much, that they prohibited all commerce with the Romans. Claudius sent his general Aulus Plautius to transport the troops he commanded in Gaul to Britain; but the soldiers at first mutinied, and refused to go; however, at last, from the regard they had to Plautius, they consented to go. He embarked his forces at three different places, and landed in Britain without any opposition. The Britons having from bad policy divided themselves into several parties, Plautius defeated Caractacus and his brother Togodumnus, and after-

wards all the other parties. This was in the forty-third year of Christ.

The Bodani, who inhabited Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, submitted to the Roman yoke, which strengthened Plautius so much, that leaving a garrison behind him, he pursued the Britons, who had retired beyond the Severn, where they lay encamped in a careless manner, thinking, that as there was no bridge over the river, the Romans could not attack them: but the Romans swam across the river, which so astonished the Britons, that they retired up the country. Vespasian here distinguished himself greatly, and gained some advantage, though not decisive. Next day a general engagement came on, which was greatly in favour of the Britons. Vespasian was in great danger, but was relieved by his son. The prospect of a compleat victory over the Romans made them careless; upon which the Romans rallied their broken legions, renewed the fight, and in the end forced the Britons to retreat. The Britons having neither fortified towns nor places of strength, and consequently no more provisions than what served them from day to day, were obliged to shift often, for the benefit of subsistence. They at length made a stand near the mouth of the Thames, over which they had thrown a bridge, that they unhappily had left behind them, which the Romans passed over, when an engagement ensued, in which Togodumnus fell. The Romans reaped no advantage from this, as the Britons, who were greatly exasperated at them, had recovered fresh strength by every defeat they had. Plautius, sensible of this, prepared to secure what footing he had got, and to preserve the remainder of his forces, and returned into the country of the Bodani, till he should receive fresh succours from Rome.

Claudius having intelligence, immediately set out with a great army, and several elephants, as they could easily travel through bogs and marches, where footmen could

not go. He landed at Richborough, with a much larger army than ever the Britons had seen before. They imagining that the inactivity of Plautius proceeded from fear or cowardice, were lulled asleep in security; and diversions and fashions prevailed so much amongst them, that they were not in a condition to defend themselves as their brave forefathers had done. The Roman army, commanded by Claudius, passed the Thames, and after a bloody battle near Colchester in Essex, the Britons were totally defeated. He afterwards attacked and took Camelodunum, the royal seat of Cynobeline. This struck such a terror into the neighbouring states, that they voluntarily submitted. The conqueror was so generous as to leave them in the free possession of their states, and only disarmed them. The Britons were so well pleased with this, that they built him a temple, and honoured him as a god. This expedition took up only sixteen days. He was several times saluted emperor of the army, a thing never known before; and when he arrived at Rome, was honoured with a triumph, and he and his sons had the title of Britannicus conferred on them, as he had conquered all Britain; whereas, in fact, only a small part was subdued. He left behind him Plautius as governor, and under him Vespasian, and his son Titus, then only a tribune. Vespasian fought thirty battles, subdued two powerful nations, took above twenty towers, and the Isle of Wight.

In the year of Christ fifty, the Britons, knowing the distractions of Rome, and the absence of Plautius Ostorius Scapula, being sent from Rome, fell unexpectedly upon them, killed great numbers, and dispersed the rest.

Ostorius built several forts this year on the Severn and the Avon, and reduced these places to the state of a Roman province. This greatly alarmed the Britons, fearing by such means as these they would be kept in continual subjection. In the neighbourhood where Ostorius had fixed

his head quarters lived the Iceni, a powerful people, who had never been brought under by the Romans. These joined with several other nations, and endeavoured to make a stand against the Romans, but were soon defeated. This defeat prevented the revolt of the other states.

Soon after this he was attacked by the Silures, a brave people, headed by their king Caractacus, the best general ever Britain could boast of. All the nations who were in alliance with the Silures chose him to be commander in chief of all the forces. They all encamped on the side of a hill, having a small river between them and the Romans. The Romans passed the river, and were very severely handled by the Britons, but at length got the victory, and the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus were taken prisoners. Caractacus, who fled into Yorkshire, was delivered up bound by the queen of the Brigantes. This was esteemed a very signal victory, as the name of Caractacus began to be famous and dreaded at Rome. He was led in triumph along with his brothers, wife, daughter, and other spoils of war. But Caractacus stood undaunted before Cæsar, and made so moving and elegant a speech, that Claudius gave him his pardon, and ordered him and his family to be unbound. This favour Caractacus received with great thankfulness. Ostorius received the honour of a triumph.

In the year of Christ fifty-two, the Britons began to attack the Romans, and were successful in several skirmishes, which gave Ostorius so much concern, that it is thought it contributed to his death, which happened soon after.

Aulus Didius was appointed to succeed Ostorius in Britain, where he found the Roman affairs in great confusion; but by proper management he soon obliged the Britons to retire to their mountains. Didius, after several successful skirmishes, grown old, and laden with honours, carried on the war by his generals, who maintained their ground against the incursions of the Britons.

Claudius dying in the year fifty-six, Nero was put at the head of the Roman empire, who, upon an exact calculation, found, that the blood and treasure which was expended in making conquests in Britain far exceeded the value of them. This made him determine to evacuate the island, but was prevailed upon to continue his forces there, for the protection of Cartismandua; though all they could obtain from Venutius in her favour was the preservation of her life.

Veranius succeeded Didius, as commander of the Romans in Britain, who attempted nothing worthy of notice against the Britons, and was succeeded by Paulinus Suetonius, a most excellent commander. He made a dreadful slaughter amongst the Britons, and destroyed their temples. The long intercourse that had subsisted between the Romans and the Britons had so depraved them of their sentiments of British freedom, that they tamely submitted, not only to the taxes imposed on them by the Romans, but also allowed them to recruit their armies from amongst the British youth. Some amongst the Britons, fired by a noble principle of liberty, secretly murmured at these impositions, and thought it unworthy of a Briton to die for any country but his own. The Romans continued their impositions to such a degree, as to appoint an imperial exchequer in Britain; and Catus Decianus was appointed superintendent of the finances. This exasperated them so much, that they made a most formidable insurrection, which was increased by another accident.

Prasutagus, a British prince, who was very rich, in order to preserve his wealth in his family, made the emperor Nero co-heir with his two daughters, whom he left under the guardianship of their mother Boadicea, a woman of royal extraction, and of a spirit superior to the highest eminence of fortune. Prasutagus dying about this time, Catus, under the pretext of taking possession for Nero, seized upon

the whole estate. Boadicea was most dishonourably violated by the officers, his daughters ravished by the soldiers, and all his family and subjects made little better than slaves. The Britons thus provoked by the most intolerable grievances, in the absence of Suetonius, take spirit, rise in arms, and put themselves under the conduct of the brave and much-injured Boadicea. Their example was soon followed by several other states. The war being collected from different channels, burst forth in a mighty torrent, carrying all before it. Boadicea soon found herself at the head of an hundred and twenty thousand men, who assembled themselves in the Isle of Ely; and, after a spirited speech, pointing out their grievances, encouraged her troops to recover their liberty, and led them forth against the colonists of Camalodunum. She soon took the city, and burnt it, together with the temple of Claudius, and put all the Romans that could be found to the sword. Petilius Cerealis advancing with his troops to the assistance of Camalodunum, was met by the Britons, and cut to pieces. The colony of Verulam underwent the same fate as that of Camalodunum; all the places belonging to the Romans were depopulated, pillaged, and plundered. London was sacked, and seventy thousand Romans and their friends perished in the general massacre, wherein none were spared; all were either immediately killed, or suffered a lingering death: for the Britons, to retaliate the disgrace which the Romans had put upon their heroine and her daughters, caused the wives and daughters of the Romans to be hung up naked, and their breasts to be cut off and sewed to their mouths, that in the agony of death they might seem to eat their own flesh; and made the greatest festivities in the temple of Andate, their goddess of victory.

In the mean time, Suetonius, hearing this terrible news, marched with twenty thousand men, and pitched his camp between the Thames and the hills of Highgate and Hamp-

stead. The Britons swarmed in great numbers, encouraged by their leader, but being drunk with their former victories, observed no order, trusting to their superior numbers. The Roman legions burst out like a mighty torrent, and slew eighty thousand Britons, sparing neither women nor children; whilst the Romans had only four hundred men killed, and as many wounded. Boadicea escaped, but touched with a deep sense of shame, poisoned herself. Thus ended British liberty, the Roman army ravaging the whole country; so that had not Rome been declining in glory, they might easily have made a conquest of the whole island.

From this time the Romans sought to conquer the Britons rather by mildness than force of arms. It became now fashionable for the British noblemen to speak the Latin tongue. Julius Agricola being appointed governor and commander in chief of Britain, he carried his arms into Scotland, and built a chain of mountains, whereby they seemed as shut up in another island, and were the year after totally defeated. However, notwithstanding his conquests, he was recalled privately, and poisoned by the emperor Domitian.

After this the Romans called all that part of the island northward from the two Friths, Caledonia, leaving the name of Britannia for the rest. The Roman empire being reunited under Constantine, the Britons lived in profound tranquillity; thenatives inlisted into the legionary troops; a vast number of foreign families transplanted themselves into Britain, so that it became the interest as well of foreigners as Britons to defend it.

The military government of Britain after the reign of Constantine was under the command of three general officers, called, the duke of Britain, who was to protect the northern parts from the irruptions of the Picts and Scots; the count of Britain, who was to preserve peace in the inland parts on the western coasts; and the count of the Sax-

on coasts, who was to guard the eastern and southern coasts from the frequent inroads of the Saxon pirates; all these generals having a body of troops, consisting of about twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse.

From this time to the year 364 there was nothing remarkable in the British affairs. In the reign of Valentian I. England was frequently invaded by the Caledonians, Picts, and Atacots. These, assisted by the Franks and Saxons, committed great ravages in the northern provinces. After this the Britons sunk into the most abject degree of slavery; till, in the reign of Honorius, when the Goths and Vandals invaded the Roman empire, all the Roman legions were drawn out of Britain, to relieve the emperor. This evacuation gave the finishing blow to the Roman interest in Britain, most of the Britons despising their degenerate countrymen, and, instead of returning to Britain, settled in Bretagne in France. The Picts and Scots renewing frequently their depredations upon the Britons, and the Romans being unable to help them, they at last applied to the Saxons, who took possession, after the Romans had possessed it four hundred and forty-three years.

No sooner had the Romans left Britain, than the Scots and Picts renewed their incursions. At this time they elected Vortigern, king of the Dunmonii, their chief, whose vices made him popular with the people. The Scots and Picts formed a joint invasion, which made the whole nation tremble. Vortigern could give them no other advice, than to apply to the Saxons for aid, as the flower of the British youth had been taken to recruit the Roman armies. The isle of Thanet was appointed for the Saxons for their habitation, who agreed to send nine thousand men into Britain. Witigisl being king, sent his two sons, Hengist and Horsa, both brave and resolute men, fit for such an enterprize, and fond of such an acquisition as was now to be obtained: but they did not keep to their promise, for they only sent three

ships, and fifteen hundred men. However, Hengist joining Vortigern, a battle was fought with the Picts and Scots near Stamford, in Lincolnshire, where the Britons and Saxons defeated their enemies. They were likewise defeated in several other engagements, which obliged them to abandon their conquests, and fly with precipitation, the army and discipline of the Saxons being so much superior. The Britons, from discontents arising among their nobles, murmured greatly against their king Vortigern, giving out, that he intended the ruin of his people, by the introduction of the Saxons; which made him send for a greater supply. Upon which Witigisil equipped sixteen large vessels, in which he transported eight thousand men, under the command of Ecus, the eldest son of Hengist, and with him his sister Rowena, a beautiful young lady. As she was one day presenting a bowl of wine to Vortigern, he fell so deeply in love with her, that he demanded her in marriage, which was consented to, upon condition that Vortigern would give up all Kent to the Saxons, which he readily complied with.

The discontent of the Britons still increasing against Vortigern, he granted permission for the introduction of a larger body of Saxons into Britain, who arrived with forty ships, conducted by Oeta, the brother of Hengist, who at first settled in Northumberland, beyond the wall built by Severus, on the north side of the Tyne, towards the east, from which they gradually advanced towards the southward, and drove the Britons beyond the Humber: their pretence for settling in this colony being to guard the frontiers against the Scots and Picts, and prevent their incursions against the Britons, which they affected with great bravery, obliging those nations to bound their territories with the rough mountainous countries that lie between the two seas near the river Tweed, which have ever since continued as

the borders between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Britain now being delivered from its antient foes, dissensions arose between the Britons and their allies, the Saxons, valuing their services at too high a price, and their religion at the same time making them at variance, the Saxons being all Pagans, and the Britons generally Christians.

Several battles were afterwards fought with various success, but the great number of recruits the Saxons brought from Germany, besides their being masters of the sea, having powerful fleets, and the Britons none, they at last conquered the whole kingdom; those brave men, that valued their liberty more than any other preferment, flying to Wales, where they fixed their habitations. They governed there by laws and princes of their own till 1272, when that principality was united to England by Edward I. A poor independancy, though amongst the barren mountains, was valued more by those brave Britons, than a splendid servitude amongst their conquerors. Those who did not retire into Wales were at last so much sunk to a sense of liberty, that the very children of these miserable people were employed only in tilling the ground, and feeding the cattle.

England at last came to be united under Egbert, who was crowned at Winchester in 829. The Danes first landed in England in 787, at Portland in Dorsetshire, with three ships but were soon obliged to leave the country. The same year they invaded Mercia, and in 793 they made a descent upon Northumberland, when they were repulsed, and many of them perished at sea. In 832 they landed at Sheppey in Kent, and the next year at Charmouth in Dorsetshire, with thirty-five sail of ships, and eighteen thousand men. Egbert, who was prepared to receive them, attacked them while landing; but after a bloody battle, in which several of Egbert's principal officers were slain, the Danes maintained their ground, pitching their camp on the field of battle.



T H E

INTRODUCTION.

IT does not seem to be very material to know from whence the name Britain is derived, as authors differ much on this head. The most probable is, that it came from the Phenicians, who, trading with the south-west part of this island for tin, called it Bratanack, which in their language signifies the Land of Tin; and the name of many places in Cornwall are of the Phenician derivation: the learned Camden will have it, that the ancient Britons called themselves Brith, or Brithon, which signifies painted or stained, because it was their custom to paint their skins; from which he thinks both the Greeks and Romans called the island Britania, or Britannia, to express the country of the Briths, or Brithons; and the Romans distinguished all those that maintained their ancient customs by the name of Picti, or the Painted People.

It is highly probable that the first inhabitants of Britain came from the neighbouring continent of France, as the narrowness of the Streights of Dover, being only twenty miles, seems to support this opinion. There is an ancient tradition, that Britain was formerly joined to France, but was severed by the universal deluge, as there was a great resemblance in the manners, customs, religion, and complexion of the ancient Britons and Gauls. It appears to have been well peopled before it was discovered by the Phenicians, which was four hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ; and the Carthaginians drove a considerable trade here about three hundred years before the birth of Christ. When Julius Cæsar first arrived in this island, fifty-five years

before the Christian æra, he found the eastern parts of the kingdom possessed by the Belgæ, who practised agriculture and trade. The western parts were inhabited by the Cantii, who are supposed to be the ancient inhabitants; and they considered the Gauls only as interlopers, who had come and taken part of their possessions, and therefore avoided all communication with them.

The ancient Britons were tall and well made, and had long yellow hair, which hung down their backs and shoulders. They sowed no corn, but lived in hovels in the woods, fed large flocks of cattle, and lived upon fruit and milk; they painted their bodies with the juices of wood, and had the skins of beasts for their cloathing. They shaved their faces all but the upper-lip: they used promiscuous copulation, and the children were reckoned to belong to the man who had the first carnal copulation with the woman.

Their religion and civil government were chiefly administered by the Druids, who were their priests. Britain was at that time divided into many petty governments; the Cantii inhabited Kent, the Regni Sussex and Surry, the Durotriges Dorsetshire, the Danmonii Devonshire and Cornwall, the Belgæ Somersetshire, Wiltshire and Hampshire, the Attrebatii Berkshire, the Dobuni Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, the Catieuchlani Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, the Trinobantes Essex and Middlesex, the Icenii Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, the Coritani Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire, the Cornavii Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire, the Brigantes Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland and Cumberland, the Ottadini Northumberland and the next four counties in Scotland, the Silures Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire, the Ordovices Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Caernarvonshire, Denbighshire and Flintshire, and the Dimetæ Caermarthenshire, Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire. Such was the state and condition of Britain when Julius Cæsar first invaded it.

near the river Char; but being fearful of Egbert's strength, soon embarked again.

In 835 they landed with a large fleet in Cornwall, and were joined by the Cornish Britons, where Egbert gave them a total defeat: and in every other descent they made, Egbert was always victorious; by which means he got the title of Egbert the Great, as being the father of the English monarchy.

In 837 and 838 the Danes again invaded England, and marched to Rochester, Canterbury, and London, committing robberies, cruelties, and murders. In 840 they again invaded England, with thirty-five ships. In 845 they landed at the mouth of the river Parret in Somersetshire, but were defeated by Alstan, the famous bishop of Sherborn. This made them desert for some years: but in 851 they landed upon the southern parts of England, and were defeated again by Ceorl, an English nobleman. Another body of Danes were defeated by king Athelstan, who had built an English fleet, with which he attacked the Danish fleet near Sandwich, and took nine of their ships.

However, this did not frighten them, for the next year they came up the Thames with three hundred and fifty ships, and pillaged London and all the country, and overthrew an army commanded by Berthulph, a tributary king. From thence they passed the Thames, and penetrated into Surrey. Ethelwulf raised an army, marched against them, and totally routed them in a pitched battle at Okely in Surrey; such vast numbers of the Pagans being slain as is scarce credible to be conceived.

In 860 the Danes landed at Southampton, and proceeded to plunder Winchester, which was at that time the capital of the kingdom; but they were presently attacked, defeated, and obliged to return to their ships.

In 867 the Danes were invited by Bruen-Brocard, a nobleman, who had the charge of guarding the sea coasts a-

gainst the Danes, upon whose lady Osbert the Northumbrian king had committed a rape; in revenge of which he invited the Danes, who landed in the mouth of the Humber. They marched to York, killed Osbert and Ella, the two kings that opposed them, and cut in pieces some thousands of people. Inguar the Danish general led his forces as far as Nottingham, committing great ravages wherever he came, particularly amongst the monasteries, where the English had concealed their most valuable effects. Buthred and Ethelred, two princes, joined their forces, and attacked them at Nottingham, but were obliged to grant the Danes an honourable capitulation. The Danes retired to York, where they committed great cruelties, killing the monks, ravishing the nuns, and plundering them of all the riches laid up there by private persons.

They became now masters of all Northumberland, and were determined to be so also of all England. They marched their army as far as Thetford, where they were opposed by Edmund, whom they defeated, and afterwards murdered in cold blood.

In 871 he penetrated as far as Reading in Berkshire; they pitched their camp between the rivers Kennet and Thames, from whence they sent detachments to plunder the country; one of which was defeated by Ethelwulf, an English nobleman, who three days after being joined by Ethelred and his brother Alfred, obliged the Danes to retire to Reading, the English besieging them. They made a furious sally, driving the English from the walls with great slaughter. The English however gathering all their forces together, defeated them in a pitched battle at Aston in Berkshire, killing Inguar their commander, and seven other generals.

In 871 they had penetrated as far as Wilton, when Alfred the Great attacked them, and got the better. After this he built a number of gallies, and attacked seven of their ships, one of which he took, and put the rest to flight.

In 876 the Normans invaded England, but were beat back. In this year a body of Danes, who inhabited the country about Cambridge, set sail from the Stour, and surprized Warham castle in Dorsetshire. Alfred marched an army, and obliged them to conclude a treaty, which they afterwards broke; and besieged Exeter, of which they took possession: however, they lost an hundred and twenty of their small craft at Sandwich in Hampshire.

In 877 Alfred raised a considerable army, and besieged Exeter; he also put his fleet to sea, to cut off all supplies from the enemy, and was successful both by sea and land. His fleet met with an hundred and twenty sail of Danish transports, laden with soldiers, which they totally destroyed: whilst he so pressed Exeter with an army, that the Danes were obliged to capitulate, and renew their oath to leave his dominions.

They then retired to Mercia, having fought seven battles with Alfred during this year. However, they all united again, and took Chippenham, at that time one of the finest and strongest cities in the kingdom. This struck Egbert's subjects with such a terror, that they had no longer the courage to defend themselves: some fled into Wales, or beyond the seas, whilst others shamefully ran over to the Danes, and swore allegiance to them. They had nevertheless a number of chosen friends, who reserved themselves for better times; with these he concerted a rendezvous, in case of a favourable opportunity. His wife and children he committed to the care of some of his friends, and divesting himself of every royal prerogative of distinction, in the habit of a common soldier, he concealed himself in the little peninsula of Athelney in Somersetshire. Here he continued for some time as a neat-herd's servant, employing his leisure time in making bows, arrows, and other warlike instruments.

Hubba and Halden had led a party of Danes into Wales,

which they ravaged with fire and sword. After this they entered Devonshire, and laid siege to Kenwith castle, which was so well defended by Odua, earl of Devon, that the Danes were routed in a fally, and twelve hundred of their men cut to pieces. Their famous standard, called Reafan, fell into the hands of the English. The rest of this body of Danes took to their ships, which encouraged Alfred to think of checking the insolence of the other body, which was in the heart of the country. For this purpose he gave orders for small bodies to be drawn together in several parts, which might be joined to one another on the least warning. The chief difficulty lay in knowing exactly the posture of the enemy. He put on therefore the habit of a musician, whose profession was in high esteem, and almost sacred, with most of the barbarians in the northern nations. In this character he continued several days in the Danish camp, till he saw and learned every thing he wanted to know, and then returned safely to his friends. Alfred found the Danes insecurely posted, confident in their own strength, and thoughtless of an enemy. He was determined to attack them in this disorder, and appointed the east side of Selwood forest, in Wiltshire, for the rendezvous of his troops. They soon gathered together in such numbers, that he presently saw himself at the head of a brave and numerous army, and led them directly against the Danes, who were encamped at Eddington, in Somersetshire: he immediately attacked them, and routed and overcame them, with incredible slaughter. The sword was let loose upon these barbarians, and made itself drunk in their blood. Those who escaped fled to a castle, but were soon compelled to submit, upon condition, that the chiefs and the main body of them should embrace christianity, and immediately depart from his kingdom.

In 893, the Danes, under Hastings, invaded England in three hundred and thirty vessels, and landed in Kent. Alfred marched his army, and defeated them at Farnham in

they which Danes men, fell dy of think was in rders which The he e- whose most arac- l he then s in- ght- a in rest, soon saw led Ed- em, ter. ade o a on, acc

Surry. The Northumbrians and East Angles revolted from their allegiance to Alfred, and besieged Exeter, which was soon relieved. Hastings was again defeated, and his fleet burnt: though he afterwards led his army into East Mercia, and encamped at Buttington in Montgomeryshire, where they were attacked by Alfred's generals, and most of them cut to pieces.

In 981, the Danes again landed at Southampton, and several other places, and committed several depredations for two years together, during which time they had several engagements with the English, whereby the kingdom was a scene of murders, plunderings, and conflagrations.

In 991, the Danes landed a large body of troops at Ipswich, which was opposed by Brithnoth duke of East Anglia, but he was soon defeated. Ethelred had none of the spirit of his ancestors, and instead of nobly fighting his enemies, he purchased a peace from them, which cost him ten thousand pounds, an immense sum in those days; but instead of preventing the Danish depredations, it was the occasion of renewing them, and increasing the calamities of England.

At length Ethelred being awaked from his indolence, equipped a strong squadron at London, and sent it against the Danes, under the command of Elfric, who came up with the enemy, but infamously betrayed his trust, by deserting to them, which gave them an opportunity of entering the Thames and the Humber. An army was sent against them by land, headed by three noblemen, Fræna, Godwin and Frishegist, who deserted to the Danes, in the same manner as Elfric had done, by sea, whereby the English army was destroyed.

In 995, Sweyn king of Denmark, and Onlaf king of Norway, entered the Thames with ninety-four ships, and besieged London, but were repulsed; but they fell upon the neighbouring counties, destroying them with fire and sword, Ethelred then fitted out a fleet and army, with intent to

exterminate the Danes; but he was so far from accomplishing his design, that after several defeats, the Danes threatened the extinction of the English name and nation. Ethelred was obliged to purchase another peace for twenty thousand pounds, which was levied over the nation by the name of Dane-gelt. The Danes behaved in such a haughty manner to the English, as to acquire the name of Lord Dane, or Lurdane, which raised the resentment of their king so much, that he commanded a general massacre of those impious Danes, which was accordingly put in execution on the feast of St. Brice, with such havock, as to spare neither age nor sex. Amongst the rest Gunilda was put to death, which was severely revenged by Sweyn her brother, king of Denmark, who next year invaded England, took Exeter, defeated the English army twice, and destroyed Norwich. Sweyn came back in 1006, ravaged the whole country, and obliged Ethelred to pay thirty thousand pounds for purchasing the peace, who took that opportunity of restoring his navy, which was again ruined by the desertion of its commanders.

This gave fresh encouragement to the Danes, who landed again in 1009, plundered the country, burnt Oxford, besieged London, defeated the English army in Suffolk, destroyed Cambridge, murdered most of the inhabitants of Canterbury, and over-run and plundered the whole kingdom, till they were obliged to retire by their own dissensions.

In 1013, Sweyn arrived at Sandwich with a strong fleet, with an intention of taking the whole island, while Ethelred was plunged in his luxuries; who at last fled with his wife and children into Normandy. However, Sweyn, instead of being made king, was murdered by his soldiers.

Upon this, Ethelred returned to England, which made Canute, the successor of Sweyn, fly back to Denmark. But next year he visited England again, which he soon overcame.

In 1016, Ethelred died, and Edmund II. mounted the throne. He relieved London when it was again besieged by Canute, and defeated him in Somersetshire. He had another general engagement in Wiltshire, where the victory was dubious. In the same year he defeated them at Brentford in Middlesex, and in Kent; but the Danes were victorious in Essex, owing to the treachery of Edric. Edmund became so formidable, that they agreed to terminate the war by a single combat between him and Canute. They engaged in the fight of both armies; but Canute finding himself too weak to resist the strong arm of Edmund, desired a parley, wherein he engaged to divide the kingdom between them, which Edmund readily accepted. Edmund was assassinated by Edric the same year; but Canute made him be put to death for his treachery.

The English being tired with the cruel usage of the Danes, were resolved to restore the Saxon line; and through the interest of Earl Godwin, who had more power than any of the English nobility, Edward III. surnamed the Confessor, was raised to the crown: and a constitutional act was drawn up, by which the Danish race was abjured, and ordered to depart England in a limited time.

In 1046, two Danish soldiers of fortune, called Lothen and Yrling, landed at Sandwich with twenty-five ships, and committed great ravages, carrying off a vast deal of booty.

In 1047, Godwin was ordered by Edward to destroy Canterbury with fire and sword for a pretended insult upon Eustace earl of Bulloign; but he neglected this order, and gave this popular reason for disobeying the King's orders, That the laws of England did not admit that any Englishman should be put to death, not only unconvicted, but unheard. This rivetted in the king an aversion to Godwin, who soon after banished both him and his son. But Godwin took care to carry immense treasures with him to Flanders; and in 1052 he fitted out a fleet, invaded England, and was joined

by some ships under his son Harold, which made him superior in naval force to the royal navy, which consisted then only of forty ships. He sailed up the Thames, and landed on the Surry shore, over against Westminster. The royal fleet and army were posted along the strand; but neither party chose to act offensively: so that Godwin at last became reconciled to the king.

In 1066, William duke of Normandy invaded England, with an army of fifty thousand men, which he brought over in nine thousand ships, and encamped at Hastings. Harold advanced into Suffex, and encamped within eight miles of the enemy.

On the fourteenth of October both armies were prepared for battle, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides, till Harold was slain with an arrow from a long bow, upon which the English fled. This battle was fought at the town of Battle; so nominated from this day's action.

William afterwards marched to London, and was acknowledged as king. This put an end to the Saxon monarchy, which had lasted five hundred and eighty years. William the conqueror was fifty-two years of age when he came to the crown.

In 1067, he paid a visit to his ducal dominion, which was one of the fairest branches of France, after he had put Norman garrisons in most of the strong places throughout the kingdom.

In 1069, the sons of Harold, with some forces lent them by Dermot, a prince of Ireland, landed in Somersetshire, where they defeated a body of English forces sent against them, plundered the country, and retired. The Scots encouraged a revolt in Northumberland, where Cumin, the lord lieutenant of the county, and all his retinue, consisting of seven hundred persons, were assassinated. In the month of September, the Danes arrived in the mouth of the Humber with two hundred and forty ships, and were joined by

most of the English exiles. They marched to York, and put three thousand Normans to the sword. William marched against them; he advanced into Yorkshire, laid the whole country between York and Durham in blood and ruins, and took Durham.

In 1073, the French invaded Normandy. William took an English army to oppose the French, whom he defeated, returned to England, and suppressed an insurrection.

In 1100, Duke Robert invaded England, declaring his pretensions to the crown, and landed at Portsmouth, in August. Henry fitted out a fleet to oppose him; but this fleet joined Duke Robert at sea, and flattered him, that most of the English would join him; but he was disappointed: upon which proposals for peace were sent by the king, and accepted by the duke.

In 1135, a battle was fought betwixt the empress Maud and Stephen at Gloucester; after having besieged the empress in Wallingford, and pursued her to Lincoln, he was defeated by the earl of Gloucester, and taken prisoner. This victory seemed to place Maud upon the throne of England; but she behaved so haughtily to the citizens of London, that she lost all respect, so that a revolt ensued: upon which, Stephen was again placed upon the British throne.

In 1137, the Normans, upon a supposition that Stephen was dead, having fallen into a profound lethargy after his return to London, invited Theobald his brother to seize their duchy; but Stephen recovered, went over to Normandy, and expelled his brother. In his absence, Maud and her friends had gathered strength, and being joined by the Scots and the Barons, were headed by the Earl of Gloucester: but he defeated the Barons in their castles, and his general, William earl of Albemarle, defeated the Scots monarch at Northallerton in Yorkshire.

In 1171, Henry assembled a fleet at Pembroke of four hundred sail, with which he arrived at Waterford in Ire-

land, on the eighteenth of October, in order to subdue it, which was easily affected, as the Irish princes chose a voluntary submission, and strove with emulation who should first swear allegiance: by which means he became master of a populous kingdom, without unsheathing his sword.

From this time to the year 1195 we find the English kings entirely employed in crusades to the Holy-Land. Richard attacked Saladine with an army of three hundred thousand men, obtained a compleat victory, and killed forty thousand of the infidels. After this he seized the cities of Ascalon, Joppa, and Cæsarea. In his way to besiege Jerusalem, he met the Babylonian caravan, escorted by ten thousand horse, which he attacked with five thousand, and became master of the caravan, with an inestimable booty of rich merchandize, which he distributed among his soldiers. In his return home he was shipwrecked, and at last taken prisoner at Vienna, and confined in irons. This alarmed all Europe, and particularly his subjects in England: but at last the emperor released him, upon the payment of an hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver. However, the king besieging the castle of Chaluz, received a wound by an arrow, which was the cause of his death.

John succeeded him, and invaded France in 1214, and reduced Poictou. After this he made a truce with Philip king of France. He and his barons disagreeing, they procured the sacred charter of their liberties, called Magna Charta, as also, the charter of the liberties of the forest. Though he had bound himself by an oath to maintain his people in their rights and liberties, yet he invited foreigners of every nation to join him to make war against the barons; great numbers arrived at Dover; but forty thousand of these adventurers were drowned in coming over. The king divided this army of foreign troops into two bodies, which ravaged the country, and plundered the estates of the barons. Upon this they applied to the king of France for

assistance, who sent his son with an army in seven hundred ships to assist the barons. The French ships landed at Sandwich, and took Rochester. The barons swore fealty to Lewis, and he promised to restore them to their antient privileges: but he died with grief at Newark, in the year 1216, and the fifty-first year of his age.

Henry III. succeeded him, who was only twelve years of age. The Earl of Pembroke was made regent during the minority; upon which the barons swore allegiance to him. The French having besieged Lincoln castle, the regent was determined to relieve them. He threw a reinforcement into the castle. The French were in possession of the city, which he attacked, and stormed, slew the French general, with most of his troops, and gave the soldiers liberty to plunder the citizens. The French king sent for a reinforcement from France, but they were interrupted by the English. Upon which the French concluded a treaty, and returned home.

In 1272 Henry died, and was succeeded by Edward I. who was then in Palestine, with a thousand English. He was received with universal acclamations of joy: but the Welch, who had done homage to his predecessor, refused him that honour; upon which he raised an army, and led it into Wales, which obliged Lewellyn, their king, to sue for peace. But in 1281 Lewellyn revolted, surprised Lord Clifford, and defeated the Earl of Surry; so that Edward was obliged to march against him with a numerous army, attacked and defeated him and his brother David, quartered their bodies, and sent them to be put up in all the chief cities in England. With these princes expired the liberty of Wales, after being eight hundred years a free people.

In 1295, Baliol king of Scotland endeavouring to cast off the yoke, Edward marched into Scotland, to make a conquest of that kingdom: he also prepared a potent fleet, which he divided into three squadrons, and got Bruce to

join him, by offering him the crown. He took Berwick, and defeated the Scots king near Dunbar, who lost twenty thousand men, which put Edward in possession of Edinburgh, Stirling, and all the considerable places in general; so that before the end of the campaign he was in possession of the whole kingdom. He obliged Baliol to make a formal resignation of his whole kingdom, after which he sent him up to London, and put him in the tower. He burnt the public records of the kingdom, brought away the regalia, and the famous stone at Scone, on which the Scots kings were formerly crowned, and put garrisons all over the country; though Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce, in their turns, gave him a great deal of trouble by their revolts. He at last died in the little town of Burgh, in Cumberland, on the seventh of July, 1307, when he was determined to destroy Scotland from sea to sea.

Edward II. succeeding, a weak and indolent prince, his father made him promise, first, To continue the war with Scotland, and to carry his bones at the head of the English army. Secondly. To send his heart to the Holy-Land, with thirty-two thousand pounds for the support of the holy sepulchre; and, lastly, Never to recal Gaveston; all which he disobeyed, and gave himself up to all manner of luxury. In the mean time, Robert Bruce, a brave and vigilant king, improved this; his subjects united, and not only recovered most part of their country, but were in a condition to carry their arms into England. Edward assembled an army of an hundred thousand men, with which he marched into Scotland. Robert was posted at Bannockburn, where he obtained a compleat victory, and obliged Edward to return into England. Bruce ravaged all the borders. Edward applied to the Pope to bring about a reconciliation with Bruce, who despised this, and took Berwick. However, afterwards there was a truce concluded between England and Scotland for thirteen years. Edward

behaved so ill to his subjects, that his queen, assisted by the nobles, made him resign the government; after which he was cruelly smothered, by orders from the Bishop of Hereford.

After which Edward III. was proclaimed king in his stead, at the age of fourteen years, who possessed a spirit of wisdom far above his age. The Scots king, hoping to gain advantage from the minority of Edward, broke the truce, and made incursions on the English borders. Edward raised an army of sixty thousand men, and after lying a fortnight one army near the other, they both dispersed. A truce was concluded between the two nations, and a marriage between David prince of Scotland, and Joanna, sister of Edward. In 1331, Edward being uneasy at the treaty concluded with Scotland, resolved to take the advantage of the minority of the young king, and encouraged Baliol to come over from France, and seize the crown. He promised him assistance, and he landed near Perth, with two thousand five hundred English adventurers. He gained four battles in a short time, and obliged the young king David to fly with his queen into France. The Scots nobility submitted to the conqueror, who was crowned at Scone, and, according to agreement, did homage to Edward, whereby Scotland became again in entire subjection to England. David had left the Earl of Murray regent in Scotland, and as Baliol had been so successful, Edward openly assisted him, marched an army into Scotland, and obtained a complete victory over the regent at Halydon-hill, near Berwick, seven Scots earls, nine hundred knights, and four thousand gentlemen, besides common soldiers, being killed on the spot. After which Edward took Berwick, and annexed it for ever to the crown of England.

In 1336, Edward entered into an alliance with the emperor, and several princes of Germany, to supply him with horses. He embarked at Orewell in Suffolk with five hun-

dred sail of ships, and steered his course towards Antwerp; from whence he went to visit the emperor at Cologne, who appointed him vicar of the empire. Edward entered France in the month of September, with forty thousand men, and Philip met him with a superior number, but nothing was done this campaign.

In 1340, he returned with a fleet of three hundred sail, and met the French fleet of four hundred sail, which he gallantly attacked with such courage and conduct, that only thirteen of their ships escaped. By this means he landed his army in Flanders, and soon found himself at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand men. He immediately besieged Tournay. Philip marched to its relief with a superior force; upon which a truce was concluded for two years.

In 1343, the French king assisted David king of Scotland, levied an army of sixty thousand men, marched into England, and took Durham, putting all the inhabitants to the sword; but a truce was presently concluded for two years.

In 1344, Edward declared war against France, and sent Henry of Lancaster with three thousand men into Guienne, who made a considerable progress, took several places, and defeated Count de Laille before Auberoche; in which action the French lost seven thousand men. But the Dauphin coming to their relief with an army of sixty thousand men, he was obliged to retire to Bordeaux, till his army was reinforced from England.

In 1346, Edward set sail from Southampton, with an army of forty-two thousand men, in one thousand six hundred ships, and landed at La Hogue in Normandy; he took Harfleur, and several other places, defeated the constable of France, and sent a defiance to Philip, which was not accepted. The French monarch raised an army of an hundred thousand men, and imagined he could inclose the English monarch, who feigned a retreat. The French king hastily followed king Edward, and encamped at Cressley, upon

the river Maye. This memorable battle began on the twenty-sixth of August, about four o' clock in the afternoon. The English army was divided into three bodies: the prince of Wales, though only sixteen years of age, commanded the first, assisted by the Earl of Warwick; the second was led by Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundel; and the king kept at some distance with the third, to give assistance where it was wanted. The French army was also drawn up in three divisions. The King of Bohemia led the van-guard; the King of France headed the main body, and the Earl of Savoy the rear. Fifteen thousand Genoise archers attacked the Prince of Wales, whom he soon defeated. The Earl of Alençon then attacked him, but he was killed, and his detachment routed, the young prince being determined either to conquer or die. The French king then ordered a strong body of horse against him, so that he must have been overpowered with numbers, if the Earls of Arundel and Northampton had not come to his relief. The French still poured in numbers upon him, while his father was calmly surveying the field of battle upon an eminence. The English commanders were apprehensive that some misfortune would happen to the prince, and desired the king to come to his assistance. He asked them how he behaved, and was told, with incredible valour. He then sent him word, that he must either conquer or die, for that he would not rob him of the honour of the day, and he must now merit his spurs. This answer being delivered in the prince's hearing, inspired him with fresh courage. His conduct inspired his men, which obliged the French to lose ground, and dispersed them in confusion. After dispersing these two parties, he marched against the main body, commanded by the king, which he likewise defeated. The French then fled with precipitation, and the English pursued, when a dreadful carnage ensued. The King of Bohemia died in the field, and his standard was taken. The French lost e-

leven princes, eighty baronets, one thousand two hundred knights, one thousand five hundred gentlemen at arms, four thousand esquires, and above thirty thousand common soldiers; a greater number than all the army of their conquerors, who lost no person of distinction, and only an inconsiderable number of private men.

After this the English laid siege to Calais, but they were eleven months in taking it, being obliged to reduce it by famine. Edward made a truce with Philip for one year, and returned to England in triumph.

In 1356, the king invested the Prince of Wales with the duchy of Guienne, who soon advanced into the French provinces, with ten thousand men, and got a great booty. The King of France marched against him with eighty thousand men, overtook him at Poitiers, and attacked the prince in his entrenchments, who acted with such amazing valour, as to defeat all the French army, and take their king prisoner. There were upwards of fifty lords slain, amongst whom were the Duke of Bourbon and the Duke of Athens, then constable of France; seven hundred of the inferior nobility, six thousand men at arms, eight thousand common men, seven earls, and one thousand five hundred barons, knights, and esquires. This battle was fought on the nineteenth of September, 1356. The victorious prince treated his royal captive in his own tent, with as much respect as if he had been at the head of the French army. He conducted his prisoners to Bourdeaux, and having granted a truce to France for two years, brought his royal prisoner to England.

The French being troubled with intestine broils, refused to ransom their king at the price set upon him by the English; so that in 1358 the English landed at Calais with an army of an hundred thousand men. The Dauphin, being unable to contend with such an army, made a truce. France ceded to England the sovereignty of Guienne, Poic-

tou, Xaintonge, Agenois, Periguez, Limosin, Cahorsin, Tarbe, Bigorre, Gauze, Angoumois, and Rouvergne; all which counties lie in the western part of France, open to the bay of Biscay, and formerly belonged to the English, by right of inheritance granted to their forefathers in 987. This treaty also confirmed to the King of England the provinces of his own conquering on the northern coast of France, in Picardy, open to the British channel. Ponthieu and Cuifnes, with Calais, Merk, Sangate, Cologne, Hames, Wale, and Oye; as also, all the districts belonging to these towns, and all the isles adjacent, with all other islands which formerly belonged to England. The king of France was also to pay three millions of crowns for his liberty. All the places in possession of the English in France were to be delivered up. The English were not to assist the Flemings, nor the French the Scots.

In 1364, the glory of England began to decline. France retook some of the towns that were ceded by the late treaty; and in 1372, the English fleet was defeated near Rochelle.

In 1377, Edward died, and Richard II. was proclaimed king. Several insurrections happened in his reign, and the French and Scots began hostilities; upon which he raised an army of three hundred thousand men to defend the north side, and protect the south. The Irish also rebelled, and slew Robert earl of Mortimer, presumptive heir of the crown. The king went over there in person to chastise them, and being ill beloved by his subjects on account of his tyrannical government, the malecontents invited the Duke of Hereford to be their leader, who landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, on the fourth of July, where they were joined by the Earl of Northumberland, and the valiant Henry Percy his son. He soon was joined by an army of sixty thousand men, as the nation looked upon him as their deliverer. The king returned, but was sent to the tower,

and afterwards removed to Pomfret castle, where he was murdered by eight ruffians.

Upon Richard's death, Henry IV. was proclaimed king on the 30th of September 1399. The king affronted the Earl of Northumberland, by taking from him the Scots nobility, whom he had taken at the battle of Halydon-Hill. This exasperated the Earl so far as to make him enter into a combination to dethrone the king, and set the crown on the head of Mortimer Earl of March, who was to have the kingdom, the Earl of Northumberland all the country lying north of the Trent, and Glendour all the countries west of the Severn. The Piercies suddenly appeared in arms in the north, and proceeded immediately to join Glendour in Shropshire. The rebels encamped near Shrewsbury, where the king immediately marched with fourteen thousand choice men: the rebels were more in number, but the king obtained a compleat victory: ten thousand of the rebels were slain, and among them the brave Earl Piercy. The king had only one thousand six hundred men killed, and four thousand wounded. Glendour retired into Wales, and the king sent the Prince of Wales after him, and obtained two victories over the French, who had made him their ally. In 1404, the French landed twelve thousand men at Milford-haven in Wales, and joined Glendour. The king marched towards Wales, and surpris'd this rebellion. Henry died of a leprosy or apoplexy, on the 20th of March, 1413, in the 46th year of his age, and Henry V. his son, succeeded him.

A kind of war had subsisted between England and France since the breach of the treaty of Bretigny. The French were not afraid of insulting Henry IV. but his son had a brave heart, and a noble spirit, and understanding to revenge the affronts thrown upon his father, thought this the most proper time, as the French king was in a bad state of health, and the kingdom was divided between the con-

tending factions of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. He therefore demanded all that had been taken from England since 1360. He was advised by his parliament to assert his claim to the whole kingdom of France. Henry was a very politic prince; he not only had the better of the French in arms, but also in negociation; for he amused them with the hopes of peace till August 1415, when he embarked his army aboard his fleet at Southampton, which consisted of one thousand five hundred transport ships, and fifty thousand men. The king landed his army at Havre-de-Grace in Normandy, and laid siege to Harfleur. He had a train of modern artillery in his army, so that the town surrendered in five weeks. The French having gathered their army together from all quarters, it consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and the English, through sickness and the flux, of only nine thousand. Henry was determined either to conquer or die. The field of battle was in a plain between Agincourt and Rousseauville, in Picardy, about three marches distant from the famous spot of Cressy, where his uncle the Black Prince had acquired so much glory. The French army was commanded by the Constable of France, who divided it into three parts; the first of which he commanded himself, the Duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood, the second; and the Earl of Marle commanded the third. The King of England, on account of the small number of his troops, could make but two lines of his army; Edward Duke of York commanded the first, assisted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope; the king headed the second, with a gold crown on his helmet for a crest, attended by his brother Humphry Duke of Gloucester, John Lord Mowbray, earl-marshal, Richard de Vere earl of Oxford, and Michael de la Poole earl of Suffolk; and the small body which formed the rear was commanded by Thomas Beaufort earl of Dorset. The king posted four hundred lances behind the wood on the left of

the field of battle, and lodged two hundred archers on a low meadow, fenced with bushes on the right, and ordered stakes of wood, called Chevaux de Frize, or the Dutch horse, to be fixed in the ground, to prevent the French horse from attacking him. The English soldiers were animated by the example of their king, who appeared dressed in all the magnificence of a royal warrior; and after having implored heaven for success, advised his troops to place all their hopes in God. The French presumptuously depended upon themselves, made great rejoicings in their camp, and resolutely sent to King Henry, to know what he would give for his ransom. Notwithstanding this, they were afraid to begin the engagement; whereupon Henry addressed his officers, saying, "Since their men have blocked up our passage, in the name of the holy Trinity, let us break through them." He then ordered his field-marshal to give the signal of battle; upon which the whole army, with a mighty shout, advanced towards their enemy. The English archers in front and flank putting the French horse in great confusion, the English threw away their bows, and fell upon their enemies sword in hand. After two attacks, the first line of the French gave way; the Constable was killed, and most of the princes and generals made prisoners. The French then advanced with their second line. Henry presented himself with undaunted courage at the head of his second line, while the remains of the first line retired behind their king to rally. The king fought like a lion on foot, beating down all that opposed him; which exposed him to so much danger, that he received a blow with a battle-ax, but soon recovered, and defended the body of his brother the Duke of Gloucester, who was knocked down. At last he received so great a blow on his head, that it made him fall on his knees, but his guards raised and protected him. His example raised the courage of the whole army, who made such a furious

attack upon the French, that they were obliged to give way. The Duke of Alençon, perceiving that the day was lost, was determined to sell his life as dear as possible, and therefore endeavoured to find out the king, whom he soon descried; and after he had killed the Duke of York, he gave the king so heavy a blow, that he broke off the one half of the golden crown on his helmet. Upon this the king struck the duke to the ground, where he was killed by the soldiers, though he endeavoured to save his life. All the second line were now dispersed, and pursued by the English, with great slaughter, who also took a great many prisoners. The third line retired without fighting; but upon an alarm, that the French had plundered the English camp, an order was given to kill the prisoners, who were more than all the English army. The English soldiers refused to do this; but a band of bloody ruffians did the horrid deed for the sake of plunder. The Marshal de Louvigny and the Duke of Bretagne were advancing, with forces equal to the English, and were near the field of battle, but upon hearing of the defeat of the French, they returned.

Henry then finding himself victorious, immediately returned thanks to God, in the face of the whole army, for so unexpected a deliverance, called this day's action the battle of Agincourt, and returned to his camp, where he had been the night before. This battle began on the 25th of October, about ten in the morning, and continued till almost five in the afternoon. There were upwards of ten thousand men killed, eight thousand of whom were noblemen, amongst whom were the Constable, the Dukes of Alençon, Brabant and Bar, with the flower of the nobility. The prisoners taken in battle were fourteen thousand, who were all put to death, except the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans, with one thousand six hundred other persons of distinction. A great number of prisoners were taken after the battle. The loss of the English was very inconsiderable.

nable, amounting to no more than four hundred men; but the Duke of York, the young Earl of Suffolk, and the famous David Gam, were among the slain. Henry continued his march for Calais, where he embarked his troops and prisoners for England, landed at Dover on the sixteenth of November, and was received at London with loud acclamations of joy, the whole nation striving who should shew the most regard to the great restorer of the glory of England.

In 1416, the French sent ambassadors to mediate a truce between England and France; but the French proved treacherous, by attempting the siege of Harfleur; upon which Henry sent his brother the Duke of Bedford over with twenty thousand men, and four hundred sail of ships, who defeated the French admiral, and obliged the constable to raise the siege. Soon after this the king crossed the sea to Calais, to meet the Duke of Burgundy, when the duke engaged to assist him in obtaining the crown of France, which Henry was fully determined on. On the first of August he landed at Beville in Normandy. The Duke of Burgundy at the same time invested Paris, which gave Henry opportunity of reducing all the strong places, and all Normandy even became subject to him. He sent part of his army into Picardy, where they took Dieppe, Montrevil, and Pontoise, which opened him a way to the very gates of Paris. Henry claimed the whole kingdom of France: but a truce being concluded, Henry came to London. The French broke the truce soon after, a body of Scots auxiliaries having gone over there; so that Henry brought thirty thousand men into France for the preservation of the territories he had acquired; but he was seized with a pleuretic fever on the 31st of August 1422, in which he soon died.

Henry VI. reigned in his stead, who was only nine months old when his father died; but his uncles were determined to maintain what his father had so gloriously established. The Duke of Bedford ordered Henry to be proclaimed king

in France, and took himself the title of regent. Charles VII. was proclaimed at the same time, so that the title to the throne was disputed thirty years.

In 1424, the Duke of Bedford, at the head of fourteen thousand, met the French army, consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by earl Douglas. A battle was fought on the 16th of August, wherein the English were victorious; five thousand of the enemy were slain, and many taken prisoners. The Earls of Buchan and Douglas were amongst the slain, and the young Duke of Alençon was amongst the prisoners.

In 1429, the French intercepted a convoy of salt-fish that was going to the English, but they were defeated by Fastolff, and this was called the Battle of Herrings. The English everywhere triumphed, and got ground in France. Charles was much dejected, and thought of returning into Dauphine; but a very extraordinary accident gave a sudden turn to his affairs. A country girl, who was a seamstress, or spinster, called Joan of Arc, a village in Domremy, in Lorraine, pretended she had express orders from God, to raise the siege of Orleans, and crown King Charles at Rheims. She was twenty-seven years of age, and was introduced to the king, who at first took no notice of her, till the clergy had examined her, who acknowledged her commission was divine. The king sent her with a convoy, to throw succours into Orleans, which she accomplished. The French beheld her with admiration: she was cloathed in the habit of a man, and carried arms: she took four of the forts erected by the besiegers, and obliged them to raise the siege. The English at this were seized with fear and terror. She retook several places from the English, made the earl of Suffolk prisoner, and persuaded King Charles to be crowned at Rheims. She attacked and defeated earl Talbot, whose troops were seized with a panic, and routed them, with the loss of two thousand men. But at last the famous Maid of Orleans

was taken prisoner by the Duke of Burgundy's general, and delivered into the hands of the English. She was sentenced to be burnt alive by the Bishop of Beauvais, which was accordingly done, in the old market-place at Roan, on the 30th of May 1431.

In 1447, the English lost the whole of their conquests in France by the indolence and bad management of Henry, who was afterwards dispossessed of the crown of England, and barbarously murdered. The war in France being ended, the civil war in England was revived in 1453. The dispute now was between the houses of York and Lancaster. The Duke of York raised an army in Wales, and marched towards London. On the 23d of May, he gave battle to the king's forces near St. Albans, and routed them, killing the Earl of Northumberland, the Duke of Somerset, the Lords Clifford and Stafford, and several other officers: he also took the King prisoner, and only lost six hundred men.

In 1459, the war broke out again, and the earl of Salisbury defeated the King's troops under Lord Audley, who was killed in the engagement.

In 1460, the flames of civil war broke out again, and a battle was fought on the 6th of July, wherein the royalists were defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men, and the king was again taken prisoner; but the queen and the prince of Wales fled into Scotland, and after raising an army of twenty thousand, they on the 31st of December defeated the Duke of York at Wakefield. In this battle the duke was killed; the Earl of Rutland was cruelly murdered, and his head, his father's, and the Duke of York's were placed on one of the gates of the city of York.

The Earl of March now became Duke of York, who having an army of twenty-three thousand men at Gloucester, was determined to revenge his father's death, and accordingly marched to Shrewsbury. The queen sent part of her army against him, under the command of the Earl of Pem-

broke, who was defeated, with the loss of three thousand eight hundred men: the duke himself was taken prisoner and beheaded. In the mean time, the queen marched the other part to London, and was met by the Earl of Warwick, on Bernard's Heath near St. Alban's, where a battle ensued, in which she was victorious, the earl losing two thousand eight hundred men. The Duke of York, hearing of this defeat, joined the scattered remains of the Earl of Warwick's army, and obliged the queen to decamp, and return to the north, he marching to London. After which, in St. John's Fields he was elected king, both by the nobles and the people, and on the fifth of March he was crowned, by the name of Edward IV. who was the first king of England of the house of York.

In 1461, being in the twentieth year of his age, and full of courage, he raised an army of forty-seven thousand men, with which he marched against the queen, who had an army of sixty thousand men. Both armies met on Palm-Sunday, the 24th of March, between Caxton and Towton, wherein Edward defeated the queen, with the loss of thirty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-six men. After this the queen and her son retired into Scotland, and delivered up Berwick to the Scots. Edward returned to London, and was crowned king of England and France on the 24th of June.

In April 1463, the queen, with five hundred men, arrived from France, all of whom were taken prisoners. However, she returned into Scotland, and raised an army, which increased upon her entering Northumberland. They encamped on Lyvel's plain, near Hexham. Edward sent Lord Montague with a body of forces against them, who obtained a compleat victory, and took the Duke of Somerset, and several other lords prisoners, whom he afterwards beheaded, the queen and her son flying into Scotland.

In 1469, the rebellion broke out again in Yorkshire. Sir

John Conyers raised a body of fifteen thousand men, and marching towards London, was met by sixteen thousand, and on the 26th of July, a battle was fought near Banbury in Oxfordshire, where the earl was defeated, with the loss of five thousand men, and himself and his brother taken prisoners, and beheaded at Banbury.

Another rising was in Northampton, under Robert Hiliar, who seized the queen's father, and beheaded him at Northampton.

In 1470, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick had a commission from the king to raise troops in the north; but the troops acknowledged them for their leaders. They marched towards Warwickshire, where the king marched against them, was taken prisoner, and confined in Middleham castle, from which he made his escape, and joined Lord Hastings in Lancashire. After this he returned to London, and defeated the rebels near Stamford, on the 13th of March, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick being obliged to fly into France.

In 1471, the Earl of Warwick landed at Dartmouth in September, and was soon at the head of sixty thousand, in order to expel Edward from the throne, and to set Henry on it in his stead. King Edward also assembled a numerous army, but fearful of trusting them, he and eight hundred of his friends fled to Holland. The earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence marched to London, and set Henry again on the throne.

On the 14th of March, Edward embarked at Flushing in Zealand, with four ships and two thousand men, and landed in Yorkshire: he was afterwards joined by the Duke of Clarence, and proceeded towards London, and was joyfully received on the 11th of April. The Earl of Warwick, joined by the Marquis of Montague, followed him, and a battle was fought on the 14th day of April, wherein the Earl of Warwick, and most of the lords of distinction were slain,

The remainder of his troops joined the Lancastrian party, with a considerable number of new raised forces, and encamped in Gloucestershire. The king on the 4th of May followed and defeated them. King Henry died in the tower, in the fiftieth year of his age.

In 1485, the Earl of Richmond landed at Milford-haven, with two thousand men, and was joined by a considerable body of Welshmen, and at Shrewsbury by two thousand. The King landed an army, and a battle was fought at Bosworth, on the 22d day of August, which decided the fate of the two houses of York and Lancaster: for the King having lost the day, was slain, bravely fighting with his crown upon his head, which was afterwards set upon the Earl of Richmond's head. In this battle were slain the flower of the English nobility, with thirteen thousand common men.

Henry VII. succeeded Richard. In the year 1487, one Richard Simon, an Oxford priest, had a pupil, whose name was Lambert Simnel, whom he declared to be the Earl of Warwick. The Earl of Kildare received him at the castle of Dublin, and proclaimed him king of England, and Lord of Ireland, by the name of Edward the Sixth. The Earl of Lincoln prevailed upon the Dutchess of Burgundy to send two thousand Germans into Ireland under the command of Martin Swart. Lord Lovel and the Earl of Lincoln accompanied him, and landed with eight thousand men at the pyle of Fowdrey near Lancaster, where they were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, and marched towards York. Both armies met on the 20th of June at Stoke near Newark. The King had twelve thousand men, and the rebels eight thousand. After a battle, which lasted three hours, victory declared for the king, who slew four thousand of the rebels, their chief officers being slain; Simnel and the priest, his instructor, were amongst the prisoners. The victory cost the king three thousand men.

In 1491, Henry, under a pretence of invading France, levied large sums of money, and in the month of Novem-

ber invaded France, with an army of two thousand five hundred men. He undertook nothing but the siege of Bretagne, and then concluded a peace. In 1493, one Perkin Warbeck personated the young Duke of York, and the Dutchess of Burgundy befriended him; after giving him proper instructions, she sent him into Portugal to stay one year privately; from which he embarked for Ireland, and passed under the name of the Duke of York. The French monarch received him under this title in France; but afterwards, upon concluding a peace with England, dismissed him. Perkin went to the dutchess in Flanders.

In 1497, a rebellion was raised in Kent by a lawyer and a farrier, who headed the rebellion. The mutineers, consisting of sixteen thousand men, encamping on Blackheath, were joined by Lord Audley. The Earl of Oxford was sent against them, who easily defeated them. Their leaders afterwards were hanged.

The King of Scotland made another irruption into England this year. The Earl of Surry was sent against him, with two thousand men, who obliged him to retreat, and pursued him into Scotland; upon which Perkin Warbeck was sent with his wife over to Ireland. In 1498, the Cornish rebels sent for him from Ireland, and he arrived in Whitland-bay in September, with about one hundred men, in four small vessels. At Bodmin he assembled three thousand men, and assuming the name of King Richard IV. entered Devonshire, and besieged Exeter. Lord d'Aubigny was sent against him, who obliged him to fly from his army, and take sanctuary in Bewley monastery, his army submitting to the mercy of King Henry. Perkin from this was sent to the tower, from which he afterwards escaped; but he was taken, tried by a jury, and hanged. At his execution he confessed the meanness of his parentage, though he had been acknowledged for king in Ireland, France, Flanders, England and Scotland. This was the last commotion

in Henry's time: he dying of the gout and consumption, on the 22d of April, 1509.

Henry VIII. ascended the throne that day, and was crowned on the 28th of June. In 1512, an army and fleet were raised, and the command of the former given to the Marquis of Dorset, and the latter to Sir Edward Howard, who plundered all the coast of Bretagne. Henry made alliances with all the different princes, on purpose to make a diversion in his favour, that he might the more easily conquer France, but they all proved false. Henry declared war against France, and was preparing to invade it with a numerous army; admiral Howard attacked the first fleet, wherein he lost his life, which discouraged the English so much, that they did not continue the battle; by which means the French made a descent on the coast, and plundered it.

In May 1513, twenty-five thousand English landed in Calais bay. The king and the emperor laid siege to Teroouenne, which was garrisoned with three thousand men. The French general the Duke de Longueville coming to its relief, the king marched against him with eleven thousand men, upon which the French ran away, and several of the officers were taken prisoners. The garrison surrendered on the 22d of August.

Henry then undertook the siege of Tournay, a town that contained eighty thousand inhabitants, which surrendered in a week. The king made Woolsey bishop of this town.

Next year he concluded a treaty of peace with France. In the mean time, the King of Scots invaded England, with sixty thousand men. The Earl of Surry marched against him with twenty-six thousand men, and, by a stratagem, drew them from their advantageous situation on Cheviot-hill, and on the 9th of September totally defeated them at Floddon-field. The Scots king was slain, with several bishops, barons and other persons of distinction, and nine thousand common men. The English lost no person of distinction, and only four thousand men.

In 1527, an insurrection happened in Lincolnshire, under one captain Cobler, who with some others were hanged, and the people dispersed.

In 1536, an insurrection happened in Yorkshire, headed by one Robert Aske, and their march was called the Pilgrimage of Grace; their number increased to forty thousand. They took Pontefract, York, and Hull, compelling several of the nobility to join their army. This insurrection was soon suppressed, upon the king's granting a general pardon. Another body of eight thousand men, headed by Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, was defeated by the Duke of Norfolk. The king ordered Lord d'Arcy to be put to death, with seventy-four others. An insurrection happening in Ireland, Thomas Fitzgerald and five of his uncles were put to death.

In 1542, a breach happened between England and Scotland. The Duke of Norfolk marched twenty thousand men, plundered the Scottish borders, and then returned to Berwick. The Scots monarch took the field with twenty-five thousand men; but the nobility refused to follow their king, whereby their army was thrown into such disorder, that they fled upon seeing five hundred English horse marching against them; the English pursued, taking a great number of prisoners, seven lords, two hundred private gentlemen, and, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. The Scots King soon after died with grief.

In 1541, Henry employed part of his troops against Scotland; of which expedition he made the Earl of Hartford general, and Lord Lisle admiral. The general marched to Newcastle, and there embarked his troops on board two hundred transports, on the 4th of May. They landed near Leith, and marched directly to Edinburgh, which they sacked and burnt. They might very easily at this time have conquered all Scotland, but Henry did not so much as lay siege to the castle, but returned to Berwick, and there

withdrew his forces to make an invasion on France, in concert with the emperor. Henry sent the Duke of Norfolk with a party of his army, who landed at Calais, and was soon joined by the king: but, instead of uniting their armies, the emperor invested St. Didier, and Henry besieged Boulogne. At that time the French monarch had no more than forty thousand men, so that it would have been easy for Henry and the emperor to have conquered all France; but the emperor concluded a separate peace, so that Henry contented himself with taking Boulogne, and then returned to England.

In 1545, the French monarch designed to invade England, for which he had provided one hundred and fifty great ships of his own, sixty small, and ten hired of the Genoese, and twenty-five galleys. They were sent under the command of admiral Annebaut, who arrived at the Isle of Wight on the 18th of July. Forty of the English ships lying at Portsmouth attacked the French, and obliged them after a very slight skirmish to return to France; but in this reign the royal navy was neglected, so that there were only merchant ships, hired of the merchants for the war, that were employed. The French monarch sent five thousand men into Scotland, who, after they were joined by ten thousand Scots, marched towards the Tweed; but on hearing the English army was advancing against them, they disbanded. Henry died on the 29th of June, 1546.

Edward VI. was proclaimed on the 31st of January, 1547, and crowned at Westminster, on the 20th of February, at the age of nine years and three months. His father had fixed his minority to eighteen years of age, so that there was a regency of sixteen persons. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and uncle to the king, was put at the head of it, and was created Duke of Somerset, protector of the king's realm, and governor of his person. The French monarch, Henry II. refused to renew the alliance with England, and,

thinking to recover Boulogne, was determined, if possible, to hinder the marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland. The protector entered Scotland with an army of eighteen thousand men. The regent of Scotland advanced against him, with an army of thirty thousand men, and thirteen pieces of cannon. The Scots thought themselves so sure of victory, that they rejected all terms of accommodation: accordingly, a battle was fought six miles from Edinburgh, near Musselborough, on the 10th of September, wherein the Scots were defeated, with the loss of fourteen thousand men, and one thousand five hundred prisoners taken, eight hundred of whom were gentlemen. The English lost only fifty-one horsemen, and one foot soldier. The English army entered Edinburgh without opposition; and their fleet burnt several sea-port towns, with all the ships in their harbours. The protector would certainly have conquered all Scotland, as they were in the utmost consternation, but he was obliged to return to England on the 18th; for his ambitious brother, the admiral, was plotting against him. The protector was obliged to continue the war in Scotland, as the French had joined them with six thousand men. The regent of Scotland opened the campaign with the siege of Broughty-castle, which he besieged in vain for three months. The English took Haddington, and marched to the gates of Edinburgh. After this the protector withdrew his forces into England, and the French general invaded the borders.

In 1549, there were insurrections in several counties; the strongest of which was in Devonshire, where there were ten thousand men, headed by Humphry Arundel, a Cornish gentleman. They besieged Exeter, which was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. Lord Russell was sent against them, with one thousand two hundred men, and obliged them to raise the siege, and they afterwards separated. The mayor of Bodmyn, and some others, were hanged. But se-

veral other commotions broke out in other places in Norfolk; twenty thousand men were headed by one Ket, a tanner, who erected a mock court of justice, under a large oak. The Marquis of Northampton attacked the rebels, and was defeated, with the loss of one hundred men; upon which the Earl of Warwick was sent against them, with six thousand foot, and one thousand five hundred horse, who attacked the rebels, killed two thousand, and took their leader, who was hanged in Yorkshire. There were three thousand who accepted of the king's pardon, and dispersed. The French king broke the truce, and invaded the territories of Boulogne, and took several castles, but was repulsed at Bullenberg, and his fleet defeated near Jersey: yet he still continued to distress England, by assisting Scotland.

In April 1552, the king fell ill of the measles, which brought on a consumption, of which he died, on the 6th of July, and was succeeded by Mary, who came to London on the 3d of August, with her sister Elizabeth, who met her on the way, with two thousand horse she had raised for her service; but this reign, instead of fighting battles, was taken up in massacring the protestants.

In 1557, Thomas Stafford, second son of the Earl of Stafford, assembled some English fugitives in France, and landed them in Scotland. He published a manifesto, wherein he stiled himself Protector of England, and charged Mary with having forfeited her right to the throne, by introducing the Spaniards into England. He seized upon Scarborough castle, but was taken prisoner by the Earl of Northumberland, and executed at London. Philip landed in England, and Mary immediately declared war against France. The Earl of Pembroke was sent with eight thousand English, who joined the Spanish army, and on the 10th of August, the battle of St. Laurence was fought, wherein the French army was defeated, with the loss of two thousand five hundred men. Philip informed the English that the

French were determined to take Calais, which advice was neglected; and on the 1st of January the Duke of Guise besieged the town, which capitulated on the seventh day. After this he invested Guisnes and the castle of Hames, both which he took, so that all the English had in France was lost in fifteen days. Philip advised her to retake Calais or seize Brest. In July following she sent a fleet of one hundred and thirty ships, and seven thousand men, but was obliged to retire, with the loss of sixteen hundred men. Mary, being disappointed, fell with the greatest fury on the protestants, so that in her reign were burnt five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred labourers and farmers' servants, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants, besides those who died in the different goals. However, Mary died at St. James' on the seventeenth of November, of a pestilential fever.

The same day that Mary died Elizabeth was proclaimed queen, and came to London on the twenty-ninth of November, amidst the loudest acclamations of the people. The French having sent several bodies of troops into Scotland in 1560, the queen was afraid, that, if Mary had children by Francis, Scotland in time might be united to France; she therefore concluded a truce at Berwick with the confederate Scots, to expel the family out of the kingdom. For this end she sent an army of seven thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse, under Lord Grey, who entered Scotland in April, and joined the confederate Scots, whose army consisted of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse; being both joined, they marched to Leith, where the French had returned, and laid siege to it. The French offered to return Calais to the English, providing they would draw off their forces from Scotland, which Elizabeth bravely refused; however, a treaty was afterwards concluded at Edinburgh, in consequence of which the

French and English evacuated Scotland, and an act of oblivion was passed.

In 1562, a civil war raged in France between the catholics and the huguenots, or protestants, who applied to Elizabeth for assistance, and engaged to put the town of Havre-de-Grace into the hands of the English, to be kept till they had Calais restored to them. The queen sent them six thousand men, and an hundred thousand crowns, to be employed in the garrisons of Dieppe, Roan, and Havre-de-Grace, under the command of the Earl of Warwick. However, the huguenots at last behaved so ill to the English, as to join the French in driving them out of Havre-de-Grace, which obliged them to capitulate, and restore the town to the French; upon which a peace was concluded between France and England.

In 1579, seven hundred Spaniards and Italians landed in Ireland, where they raised a fort, which they called Del Oro, and brought arms with them for six thousand men; but the Earl of Ormond soon obliged them to surrender.

In 1585, Elizabeth supplied the Prince of Conde with money, who was at the head of the French huguenots, and sent him ten ships, with which he raised the siege of Rochelle. She also sent six thousand men to assist the Dutch against the King of Spain; and Sir Francis Drake to invade the Spanish settlements in America. He took Carthagena, and several other places, and a vast quantity of riches; after which his fleet was dispersed in a storm, and he lost seven hundred men in this expedition.

In 1588, great armaments were raised by Spain against England. Drake was sent to burn all the Spanish ships on the coast of Spain, and admiral Cavendish to the South Sea, where he plundered the coasts of Chili and Peru. The King of Spain had fitted out the formidable armada, which consisted of an hundred and thirty-two large ships, carrying two thousand, six hundred and thirty guns, twenty cari-

vals, ten falves, with six oars a-piece, twelve thousand, four hundred and sixty-three sailors, who were to be joined by thirty thousand men, with the Prince of Parma at their head. They set sail on the twelfth of July, and arrived within sight of England on the nineteenth.

As the queen knew they intended to land at the mouth of the Thames, twenty thousand men were posted along the sea-coast. A camp was formed at Tilbury in Essex, consisting of twenty-two thousand foot, and one thousand horse, commanded by the Earl of Leicester. Another camp was formed nearer London, of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under Lord Hunsdon. All the militia of the kingdom were raised. The navy, consisting of an hundred and forty sail, and eight fire-ships, was commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, with the admirals Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher. They put to sea from Plymouth, and came up with the Spaniards in the channel on the twenty-first of July. A bloody battle ensued, in which the Spaniards were worsted: for they lost eighty-one of their ships, with thirteen thousand men; and the shattered remains of this great armada did not reach Spain till seven weeks after this engagement.

In 1589, Elizabeth was determined to pay the king of Spain in his own coin. She sent a fleet of an hundred sail, with one thousand five hundred sailors, and twelve thousand soldiers, to restore Antonia, the exiled king of Portugal, to his throne. They were commanded by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris, who were ordered to act chiefly against Portugal; but they plundered the Groyne in their way, and killed three thousand Spaniards. The Earl of Essex joined them soon after, and they landed in Portugal, and took Peniche: after which they invested Lisbon, took sixty ships in the Tagus, and in their return to England destroyed Vigo, and took a very large booty.

In 1590, Lord Thomas Howard was sent with six ships to

interrupt the Spanish plate-fleet; but being attacked by fifty-three Spanish ships, they were obliged to return, with the loss of the *Defiance*. She sent six thousand men to assist the French monarch at the siege of Roan, and was always the friend of Henry IV. till he turned Roman catholic. Many conspiracies were formed against the queen, which Providence detected, and the execrable contrivers were brought to condign punishment. She died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

James pretended he had an hereditary right to the crown, and therefore fought no other. He was proclaimed at London six hours after Elizabeth's death, by the name of James I. He was greatly delighted with the title of the Peaceful King, so that in his reign there was little blood shed. He died on the twenty-seventh of March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Charles prince of Wales was not crowned till the second of February, 1626. In his first speech to his parliament he reminded them of the engagements he came under to his father for the recovery of the Palatinate. Accordingly, he sent out a fleet of eighty sail, with ten regiments, under the command of Edward Cecil and Viscount Wimbleton, who plundered a few villages, and returned without doing any service to the nation.

In 1627, a fleet of above an hundred ships, with an army of seven thousand men, were sent out under the Duke of Buckingham, under pretence that it was designed for the recovery of the Palatinate, but in reality it was to take possession of Rochelle. The Rochellers refused the proffered succours, and Buckingham directed his course to the Isle of Rhee, where he was repulsed by Count Schomberg, with the loss of four thousand men, and was obliged to return to England.

In 1639, the king raised an army of nineteen thousand,

six hundred and forty men, and five thousand sailors, to invade Scotland, and impose on them the episcopal religion. The Scots opposed them with a large army; but they laid down their arms upon the king's promising to abolish episcopacy.

In 1640, the English army, consisting of twenty-two thousand men, assembled at Newcastle, under the command of the Earl of Northumberland. The Scots army of twenty five thousand was headed by Montrose and general Lesley. They passed the Tweed on the twentieth of August, and published a manifesto, declaring, that they wanted only to present a petition to the king for redress of their grievances. Lord Conway made a faint resistance, but Lesley forced his passage over the Tyne. The king came to York, and assembled his army. The river Tees was to be the boundary of the two armies. The Scots army was allowed eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day for their maintenance. The king set out for Scotland on the tenth of August 1641, and was dutifully received by the generals of the Scots army at Newcastle. The Earl of Argyle was at the head of the covenanters, and they hindered the king from consulting with Montrose, Hamilton, or any of his friends in Scotland; so that he returned to London on the twenty-fifth of November.

While his majesty was in Scotland, a most bloody rebellion broke out in Ireland, where an hundred and fifty thousand protestants were killed in cool blood by the Roman catholics. It was said, that one More, the principal conspirator, had counterfeited the broad seal of Ireland, and had affixed to it a forged commission from the king, authorizing this rebellion. The standing army at that time was no more than three thousand men in that kingdom.

The first blood that was spilt in the civil war in England was at Hull, where Sir John Natham sallied out upon a party of the royalists, some of whom he killed, and others he

took prisoners. But on the ninth of September, 1642, the queen went off with the crown jewels to Holland to buy arms for the king, who set up his standard at Nottingham, but few people appeared in arms for him. He then retired to Shrewsbury, where his army increased to ten thousand men, and four thousand horse, and were headed by Prince Rupert. The parliament's army consisted of sixteen thousand men, well armed, with a train of artillery. On the twelfth of October the king marched from Shrewsbury to London, and the Earl of Essex followed him. The two armies met between Keinton and Edge-Hill, and a battle ensued, in which about five thousand were killed on both sides, and both claimed the victory. The king retired to Oxford, and the Earl of Essex to Warwick. Banbury-castle surrendered to the king, who afterwards advanced to London. Essex was up with him immediately, and got his army recruited from London. The king arrived at Colebrook, fifteen miles from London, on the eleventh of November, and defeated a body of troops at Kingston. The Earl of Newcastle raised eight thousand men for the king in the counties of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the inhabitants promised to furnish him with men and money. Sir Ralph Hopton became master of all Cornwall for the king. The queen returned from Holland with a large supply of arms. Prince Rupert, with twelve hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, took Birmingham and Litchfield. The Earl of Essex invaded Reading with an army of sixteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, which surrendered, though the king was marching with a large army to raise the siege. After this he advanced to Thame, where Colonel Hurry deserted to the king, and advised Prince Rupert to make attacks upon separate scattered bodies of the parliament's army; upon which the prince cut two regiments to pieces at Wickham. Essex being informed of this, sent a detachment to inter-

cept the prince in Chalgrave field; but the horse were routed before the foot could come up. In this skirmish the famous Mr. Hambden was slain. The prince returned to Oxford with two hundred prisoners, and found the queen arrived with three thousand men to join the king. After this Bristol was besieged, and surrendered to the king on the fifth of July. Sir Ralph Hopton engaged Sir William Waller at Lansdown near Bath, where they lost one thousand five hundred horse. But they engaged again on the thirteenth, where they defeated him, with the loss of six thousand of his men. The king marched to besiege Gloucester on the tenth of August, but colonel Maffey, the governor, made a brave defence, till Essex came up with his army, which obliged the king to raise the siege. Essex then marched towards London; the king sent prince Rupert after him, with five thousand horse. Both armies met near Newbury, and on the twentieth of September a battle was fought, which began at seven o' clock in the morning, and continued till night put an end to it. Here the king was beat, and retired to Oxford, leaving Essex master of the field of battle. In the north the Earl of Newcastle was general for the king, and Fairfax for the parliament. Fairfax took general Goring and two thousand men prisoners at Wakefield; but Fairfax was defeated on Allerton-Moor, and was obliged to retire to Hull, where he was made governor. Lord Willoughby took Gainsborough for the parliament. The same day a detachment of the king's army was defeated at Winsby-field by Oliver Cromwell, who killed one thousand five hundred men.

In 1643, the English parliament applied to the Scots Convention of the Estates for aid, and it was agreed by them both to take the solemn League and Covenant for the safety and peace of the three kingdoms. The Scots engaged to raise an army of eighteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to be paid by England. The king finding

it was out of his power to quell the parliament's army and the Scots, made a peace with the Irish Roman catholics, who had massacred his subjects, and brought over the English forces out of Ireland. They arrived at Mostyn in Flintshire in December, and put themselves under the command of lord Byron, who besieged Nantwich in Cheshire; but they were repulsed, and the Irish army was entirely defeated by Fairfax, on the twenty-first of January, 1644, who slew or took prisoners most of the foot, consisting of three thousand men, and dispersed all the horse, being one thousand eight hundred. Colonel Monk was taken, and sent prisoner to the tower. On the eleventh of April, Fairfax defeated colonel Bellasis at Selby in Yorkshire, and took him prisoner, with one thousand six hundred of his men, after which he joined the Scotch army. The Earl of Manchester, general of the seven eastern associate counties, joining the Scotch troops, these three armies invaded York, where the Marquis of Newcastle had retired. Sir John Meldrum besieged Newark with five thousand of the parliament's forces; but prince Rupert came up with a great force, surrounded him, and obliged him to march away with military honours, but without his artillery. He also relieved Latham-House in Lancashire, that had been besieged eighteen weeks. He took Stopworth in Cheshire, and Bolton in Lancashire, and drove colonel More out of Liverpool.

After this, the earl, with his lieutenant-general Cromwell, advanced to re-inforce the siege of York, which was then besieged by the Scotch general Leven, and the Lord Fairfax. Prince Rupert, arriving with about eighteen thousand men, caused the besiegers to raise the siege; who joining their forces, resolved to watch his motions, and to fight him if they found occasion: but in order to refresh themselves a little, and furnish themselves with provisions which they wanted, they marched towards Tadcaster.

^{bs}The prince, elevated with success, and not thinking it enough to have relieved the city, if he did not defeat the enemy, contrary to the advice of those that were with him, marched after them, and finding them at Marston-Moor, forced them to a battle; in which the left wing of his army, commanded by himself, charging the parliament's right, so totally routed them, that the three parliament generals, Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester quitted the field, and fled towards Cawood-castle. Here the prince pursued his enemies too far, which lost him the day. The three generals being thus beaten out of the field, the honour of the day fell to Cromwell; for the left wing of the parliament's army, commanded by him, engaged the prince's right, commanded by the Earl of Newcastle, who had gained an advantageous piece of ground upon Marston-Moor, and caused a battery to be erected upon it, from which captain Walton, Cromwell's sister's son, was wounded by a shot in the knee: hereupon Cromwell ordered two field-pieces to be brought for annoying the enemy, and appointed two regiments of foot to guard them; who marching for that end, were set upon by the foot of the prince's right wing, that fired thick upon them from the ditches. Upon this both sides seconding their foot, were wholly engaged, who before had only stood facing one another. The horse on each side fought with the utmost bravery and courage; for having discharged their pistols, and flung them at each other's heads, they fell to it with their swords; but after a very obstinate dispute, the victory was obtained by Cromwell's brigade, prince Rupert's right wing being totally routed and flying, and the parliament's horse pursuing and killing many of them in their flight. And now the left wing of the prince's army, who had been victors, came back to their former ground, being confident of victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen the right; but before they

could put themselves into any order, they were charged and entirely routed by the reserves of Cromwell's brigade.

Other accounts are given of this battle, but all agree in ascribing to Cromwell the glory of the action. Some say he was wounded in the right arm at the first charge, and went off to have it dressed; and returning to his post, found the army in that disorder as is above related. Any other man, says F. Orleans, would have run with the stream, and followed such examples, as he need not blush at, to seek his safety by flight. Cromwell rather chose to shew what good sense could do, when seconded by valour. He presently perceived that the conquerors were in as much confusion as the conquered, those who pursued observing no more order than those that fled; but that there were some brigades of his army that stood firm, and had not as yet been engaged. He made no scruple to put himself at the head, and charging with these fresh troops, whom his own prowess inspired with new courage, he so vigorously attacked the enemy, whom victory had made careless of keeping their ranks, that this unexpected turn changed the scene at once, and entirely broke them.

Of the king's forces above four thousand were slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners; among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, major-general Porter, major-general Tilyard, with about a hundred officers more. All the artillery, great numbers of arms, and a good quantity of ammunition and baggage, fell also into the parliamentarians hands; the prince's own standard, with the arms of the Palatinate, was likewise taken, with many others both of horse and foot. Of the parliamentarians not above three hundred were slain. This famous battle was fought on the second day of July. Cromwell was greatly cried up for his bravery and conduct, and gained the name of Ironsides from the impenetrable strength of his troops, which could by no means be broken or divided. Prince Rupert and his confederates being thus

defeated, they quarrelled among themselves, one reproaching the other for this miscarriage; whereupon the Earl of Newcastle, and others of quality, departed out of the kingdom. The siege of York was now renewed, which city despairing of fresh succours, was soon surrendered to the parliament by Sir Thomas Glemham, who had been sole governor of it.

After this the king went to Oxford, and sent lord Hopton, with eight thousand men, to fight Sir William Waller. The two armies met, and the battle was fought at Cheriton-down near Alresford, on the twenty-fourth of March: the king's horse behaved ill, and lord Hopton was defeated, with the loss of six hundred men, and several persons of distinction, who returned to Oxford, and Waller to Winchester. The parliament's army besieged Oxford on the third of June; but the king left that city in the night, and marched to Worcester: Waller followed him, and the Earl of Essex marched into the west against prince Maurice. The king gave Waller the slip again, and marched back to Oxford, where he rejoined his foot, and went into Buckinghamshire, with a design to engage Waller, who came within sight of the king near Brackley in Northamptonshire. The two armies were divided by the river Cherwell; but on the twenty-fourth of June, Waller attacked the bridge, and was defeated, with the loss of his cannon, six hundred men killed, and seven hundred taken prisoners. Upon this the king marched into the west, arrived at Exeter, joined prince Maurice, and found himself at the head of an army superior to Essex, who returned into Cornwall. The king cut off his provisions, and he was obliged to take shipping for Portsmouth. His horse, under Sir William Balfour, had passed the king's quarters undiscovered in a dark misty night; the foot capitulated, and were disarmed by the king, and permitted to return to Pool or Southampton. The king returned from thence to Salisbury, and

then to Oxford. The parliament had united their three armies together again at Reading, and obliged the king to come to another engagement at Newbury, on Sunday the twenty-seventh of October. The parliament's army consisted of sixteen thousand; but the king had not half that number, and defended himself by intrenchments, which the parliament's forces attacked. The king lost three thousand men, and the parliament two thousand five hundred, which ended the campaign for this year.

The parliament voted for next year's service six thousand horse, one thousand dragoons, and fourteen thousand foot. Sir Thomas Fairfax captain-general, Oliver Cromwell lieutenant-general, and Henry Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, commissary-general. They granted Essex ten thousand pounds a-year for his faithful services. General Fairfax assembled his army at Windsor, while the king prepared to take the field at Oxford. The king, expecting to be joined by prince Rupert, was attacked by Cromwell, who was sent to hinder that junction: he defeated a brigade, commanded by the Earl of Northampton, at Illipbridge, and obliged colonel Windebank to surrender Blechington-house, and gained advantage over Sir William Vaughan. The general went to the relief of Taunton, which was besieged by Sir Richard Greenville. The king took the field, on the seventh of May, with eight thousand men, which obliged Fairfax to return to Newbury, after detaching five hundred foot and one thousand eight hundred horse to Taunton, under the command of colonel Welden. The king, on the thirtieth, took Leicester by storm. Fairfax besieged Oxford, but raised the siege to follow the king, who advanced to meet Fairfax.

The king having tarried a little at Borough-Hill, drew off from thence towards Harborough, and designed to march to Pomfret, thinking if he was followed by the parliament's forces, he should fight with greater advantage

northward. But Ireton, by Cromwell's advice, being sent out with a flying party of horse, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quartered in Naseby town, and took many prisoners, some of prince Rupert's life-guard, and Langdale's brigade; which gave such an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at midnight left his own quarters, and for security hastened to Harborough, where the van of his army lay. Here calling up prince Rupert, he summoned a council of war, in which it was resolved (chiefly through the prince's eagerness, old commanders being much against it) to give the enemy battle; and since Fairfax had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him, but seek him out. Accordingly being come near Naseby, there they found him; and both armies being drawn up in battalia, faced each other. Prince Rupert and prince Maurice commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king himself the main body; the Earl of Lindsey and Jacob lord Astley the right hand reserve, and the lord Bard and Sir George Lisle the left reserve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by lieutenant-general Cromwell, the left by colonel Ireton, the main body by general Fairfax and major-general Skippon, who fought stoutly, though sorely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reserves were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-west side of Naseby, above a mile broad; which space of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

All things being thus disposed, on June the fourteenth, at ten in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royalists word being God and queen Mary, and the others, God with us. Prince Rupert gave the first charge, and engaged the parliament's left wing with great resolution. Ireton made gallant resistance, but was forced at last to give ground, his horse being shot under him, and

himself run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and taken prisoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regained his liberty. The prince chased the enemy almost to Naseby town, and in his return summoned the train, and visited the carriages, where was good plunder, but here, as in the battle of Marston-Moer, his long stay so far from the main body was no small prejudice to the king's army.

For Cromwell in the mean time charged furiously on the king's left wing, and that with good success, forcing them from the body, and prosecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reserve: after which, joining with Fairfax, he charged the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's and got possession of their ordnance, and thought themselves sure of the victory; but being now in confusion, and having no horse to support them, they were easily overborn by Fairfax and Cromwell. By this time the king was joined by Prince Rupert, returned from his fatal success; but the horse could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy: upon which the lord Clarendon says, that this difference was observed all along in the discipline of the king's troops, and of those under Fairfax and Cromwell (it having never been remarked under Essex or Waller, but only under them) that though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day; which was the reason that they had not an entire victory at Edge-Hill; whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received further directions. In fine, with all that the king and prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the place; so that they were forced at last to quit the field,

leaving a compleat victory to the parliament's party, who pursued them within two miles of Leicester; and the king finding the pursuit so hot, fled from thence to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and then to Litchfield, and so for a safer retreat into Wales.

The king's loss in this battle was irreparable; for besides that there were slain about a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, most of his foot were taken prisoners, with all his cannon and baggage, eight thousand arms, and other rich booty; among which was also his majesty's own cabinet, and letters between him and his queen.

Thus ended the famous battle of Naseby, in which the wonderful success of the parliament's party was chiefly owing to Cromwell's valour and good conduct, who flew like lightning from one part of the army to the other, and broke through the enemy's squadrons with such rapidity, that nothing either could or durst stop him. It is said, that in this action, a commander of the king's knowing Cromwell, advanced briskly from the head of his troops, to exchange a single bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their pistols being discharged, the cavalier, with a flaunting back-blow of a broad sword, chanced to cut the ribbon that tied Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now just going to repeat his stroke, Cromwell's party came in and rescued him; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece into his saddle, which he hastily catching, clapt it on the wrong way, and so bravely fought with it the rest of the day, which proved so very fortunate on his side.

After this the parliament's forces conquered wherever they came. The king retired to Cardiffe in Wales, instead of marching to Taunton, where he might have raised another army. Fairfax reduced Leicester, and defeated Goring at Langport. This victory was followed by the taking of

Bridgewater, Bath, Sherborn, Dartmouth, Bristol, Winchester-castle, Langford-house near Salisbury, the castle of the Devizes, Tiverton and Exeter. The Prince of Wales and Lord Hopton raised an army of eight thousand men in Cornwall, which Fairfax met, and defeated at Torrington, with the loss of three thousand men. The Scots army took Carlisle, besieged Hereford, and Pomfret and Scarborough surrendered.

While Fairfax was in the west, the king left Wales, at the head of three thousand men, took Huntington, and marched to Oxford, from whence he went to Hereford, and then to Chester. Major-general Pointz was sent after him, and defeated him within two miles of Chester, killing six hundred, and taking a thousand prisoners. The king escaped to Denbigh-castle, raised three thousand men, and advanced to Newark; he then returned to Oxford, from whence he sent Lord Digby, with one thousand five hundred horse, to join Montrose in Scotland: but Digby was defeated by Colonel Coply, and his men obliged to shift for themselves. Lord Hopton, after his defeat at Torrington, retreated to Cornwall, with three thousand horse, and was so closely pursued by Fairfax, that the Prince of Wales was obliged to fly into Scilly, and from thence to France, where his mother had been for a considerable time. On the fourteenth of March, Lord Hopton surrendered to Fairfax at Truro, who took possession of Exeter on the ninth of April. The king had no one now left but Montrose in Scotland, and Ormond in Ireland: the small remains of the army he had in England were defeated by Sir William Brereton at Stow in the Would, and Lord Astley was taken prisoner.

In 1648, some fresh commotions arose between the parliament and the army; General Langhorn had assembled eight thousand men in North Wales, and Cromwell was sent to reinforce General Horton, who came up with him at St. Fagous in Glamorganshire, killed one thousand five hun-

dred, and took three thousand prisoners, reduced Chipflow castle, and laid siege to Pembroke. Thus Cromwell completed the reduction of Wales, and then marched towards the north, with orders to oppose the Scots, who were beginning to invade England.

During these transactions in Wales there was a rising in Kent of ten thousand men, headed by the Earl of Norwich and Sir William Waller, who came to Blackheath, but soon retired to Maidstone, and were pursued by Lord Fairfax, who stormed the town, slew many, and took a great number of prisoners. The Earl of Norwich passed over the Thames at Greenwich with eight hundred soldiers into Essex, where Lord Capel, Sir George Lyfle, and Sir Charles Lucas, had raised two thousand men, with whom they joined him. They returned to Colchester, and threw up several works to defend themselves; but Lord Fairfax invaded the town, and, after a long and bloody siege, he reduced the garrison to all the extremity of famine. Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lyfle were shot to death; the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel were sent prisoners to Windfor-castle.

Thus ended the insurrections in Kent and Essex. The Earl of Holland and the young Duke of Buckingham assembled a few troops at Kingston upon Thames, which were defeated by colonel Levesy. Sir Marmaduke Langdale assembled four thousand men in the north, and made himself master of Berwick and Carlisle. The royalists surprized Pontefract-Castle, and Scarborough revolted to the king. Part of the fleet revolted, went over to Holland, and brought over the Prince of Wales, who designed to land at the mouth of the Thames; but he found the Earl of Warwick commanded a superior fleet there for the parliament, which obliged him to return to Holland, where the fleet deserted him. The Duke of Hamilton levied ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, which were to have joined the Prince

of Wales, and marched to Carlisle, where he was joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale with four thousand foot and five hundred horse; but instead of marching to London, they lingered in the north till Cromwell came up with them at Preston in Lancashire on the seventeenth of August. The English in the Scotch army had the honour of the van, and for a time engaged Cromwell's men with much bravery; but were at last so vigorously pressed upon by them, that they were forced to retreat to a pass, which they endeavoured to maintain, whilst they sent to the duke for succour; which he not sending, they began to shift for themselves; though Langdale afterwards declared, that if one thousand foot had been sent to him, he verily believed he should have gained the day; and Cromwell himself acknowledged, that he never saw foot fight so desperately as they did. The Scots perceiving the disorder their English friends were put into, it made such an impression upon them, that they soon followed their example, retreating in a disorderly manner; but were so closely pursued by Cromwell, that many of their foot threw away their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners, and many were slain. Several principal officers of their foot were likewise taken, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage. Many of their horse fled towards Lancaster, and were pursued near ten miles, with great execution.

The duke marched away in the night, with about eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and Cromwell followed him with about three thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, killing and taking several in the way; but by the time the rest of his army was come up, the duke recovered Wiggan, before they could attempt any thing upon them. All that night they lay in the field dirty and weary, and had some skirmishing with the enemy, who the next morning marched towards Warrington, and made a stand at a pass, which for many

hours was disputed with great resolution on both sides: but at length Cromwell beat them from their standing, killed about one thousand of them, and took about two thousand prisoners. He pursued them home to Warrington town, where they possessed themselves of the bridge; but Cromwell coming thither, lieutenant-general Bayley desired to capitulate, and had no other terms given him, than that he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, &c. which was accordingly done; and here were taken four thousand compleat arms and as many prisoners, and the duke's infantry was totally ruined; who with his remaining horse marched towards Nantwich, where the gentlemen of the country took about five hundred of them, and killed several; and Cromwell sent post to the Lord Grey, Sir H. Cholmely, and Sir Ed. Roade, to gather all together with speed for the pursuit of the enemy. And so duke Hamilton being pressed upon by the country, fled at last to Uxeter in Staffordshire; where, with about three thousand horse which he had with him, he was taken, and sent prisoner to Windsor-castle. Thus the whole Scotch army, which had occasioned so much terror, was routed and defeated; and what is most remarkable, is, that all this great victory was obtained by Cromwell, with an army amounting to scarce about a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together; the conduct of this general, and the goodness of his troops, making amends for the smallness of the number, which was not diminished half a hundred in gaining this victory, after the English under Langdale had been beaten. And though indeed the circumstances of this victory are variously related by historians, yet all agree in attributing the honour of it to Cromwell. All the enemy's cannon and baggage was taken, with their colours; and only some of their horse, which had been quartered backwards, made haste to carry news to their country of the ill

success of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were, for the most part, taken by the activity of the country or the horse that pursued them. And Sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with some of his men, who continued with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, was discovered; and being taken prisoner, was conveyed to the castle of Nottingham, from whence he afterwards had the good fortune to escape.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell having thus defeated the Scots under duke Hamilton, resolved to prosecute the advantage, by marching with all possible speed against Monroe, who was come into England, as a reserve to the duke, with above six thousand horse and foot, and had marched almost to the borders of Lancashire: but having notice given him, that Cromwell was advancing towards him, and not thinking he should be able to stand before him, who but just before had defeated an army so much exceeding his own, he made what haste he could back into Scotland.

Cromwell having thus rid the whole nation in general of a great fear, and eased the north in particular of that grievous burden they groaned under, by the plunder and oppression of the Scotch army, resolved to prosecute his victory to the utmost, by entering into Scotland itself, that he might effectually root out there whatever threatened any further disturbance. It was generally believed, that the Marquis of Argyle earnestly invited him to this progress; for notwithstanding duke Hamilton's defeat, his brother the Earl of Lanrick still bore all the sway in the committee of parliament, as well as in the council; and the troops which Monroe had raised for the recruit of the duke's army, were still together, which the few forces raised by Argyle were not sufficient to oppose. However, if he did not invite Cromwell, 'tis certain he was very glad of his coming, and made all possible haste to bid him welcome at his entrance into the kingdom.

Cromwell with his victorious army continuing his march towards Scotland, in his way reduced Carlisle and Berwick to their former obedience, both being delivered up to him on composition. Being just ready to enter that kingdom, he drew his army to a rendezvous on the banks of the Tweed, and ordered proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that none of them should force from the Scotch people any of the cattle or goods, upon pain of death; but that in all things they should behave themselves civilly in their march and quarters, giving no offence to any. As he entered Scotland, he declared, "That he came with his
" army to free the kingdom from a force which it was un-
" der from malignant men, who had forced the nation to
" break the friendship with their brethren of England who
" had been so faithful to them: that it having pleased God
" to defeat the army under duke Hamilton, who endea-
" voured to engage the nations in each other's blood, he
" was come thither to prevent any further mischief, and to
" remove those from authority who had used their power
" so ill; and that he hoped he should in a very few days
" return with an assurance of the brotherly affection of that
" kingdom to the parliament of England, which did not
" desire in any degree to invade their liberties, or infringe
" their privileges." Upon this the Earl of Lanrick, and all the Hamilton party withdrew from Edinburgh; and they who continued there were resolved to comply with Argyle, who they now saw could protect them.

Cromwell marched directly for Edinburgh, and in his way was met by many of the Scotch nobility and gentry from the committee of estates, with congratulatory orations in honour of his worthy achievements; acknowledging that his presence would conduce much to the composing of the distractions of the kingdom. Being thus conducted to Edinburgh by the Marquis of Argyle, and the rest that came to meet him, he was received there with all the solemnity

and respect due to the deliverer of their country. His army was quartered about, and supplied with all the provisions the country could afford; and himself was lodged in the Earl of Murray's house, where resorted to him the lord chancellor, with many others of the nobility and gentry. The lord provost, with several eminent citizens, came likewise to welcome him thither, and present their service to him. Thus the Scotch presbyterians, who lately looked upon the independent party as the worst of their enemies, now owned and embraced this Sectarian army (as they before called it) as their best friends and deliverers.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell had not been long at Edinburgh, before he demanded of the committee of estate, that they would seclude from all public trusts, all who had any hand in, or did in the least promote duke Hamilton's late invasion: to which the committee gave a satisfactory answer. Several other demands were likewise made by him, with which the committee complied; and he reserved liberty for the parliament of England to make such further demands as they should think requisite. Whilst he staid with them, the committee sent an order and command to Monroe to disband his troops; which when he seemed resolved not to do, he soon perceived that Cromwell must be the arbitrator; and thereupon he very punctually obeyed the orders of the committee.

Cromwell having thus finished what he came about, began to prepare for his return to England; but before he left them, the committee fearing some disturbance might arise after the departure of the English army, requested him, that he would leave some forces with them, which might be ready to suppress any insurrections; promising, that when they had raised a sufficient force for their own defence, they would dismiss them, and send them back into their own country. To this Cromwell readily yielded, and appointed major-general Lambert, with three regiments of horse,

for the said service. Thus ended the civil war, the king was tried, and condemned, and on the thirtieth of January, 1643, lost his head.

Upon the death of the king, the house of commons laid the foundation of a commonwealth. On the twenty-second of June, Cromwell was appointed general of all the forces to be sent to Ireland, with absolute power as lord governor over both civil and military officers in that kingdom, for three years. Cromwell gave orders for fifteen thousand men to rendezvous at Milford-haven. In the mean time, he sent three regiments to the relief of Dublin, which was annoyed by the Marquis of Ormond, with an army of nineteen thousand men. Colonel Jones, the governor, on the second of August made a sally with eight thousand men, and totally routed the Marquis of Ormond, with the loss of five thousand five hundred men, killed and taken prisoners.

Cromwell was informed of this good success, while he was embarking his army, with which he safely arrived at Dublin, on the sixteenth of August. He soon reduced Drogheda by storm, where Sir Arthur Aston commanded with a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse; most of whom were put to the sword, together with the governor, who made a glorious defence. Trip and Dundalk surrendered to Cromwell without any opposition; which example was followed by the garrisons of Killingkerick, Arkloe-castle, and other places. He afterwards reduced Wexford by storm, and put every man to the sword who was found in arms; which severity had the same effect as that used at Drogheda, by intimidating the other garrisons, and obliging them to surrender as soon as they were summoned. Ross, Kingale, Cork, Youghal, Bandon-Bridge, and other places, readily submitted: but Cromwell was obliged to raise the siege of Waterford, on account of the winter. He took the field again in January, and reduced several places with great rapidity; particularly

Feathard, Calan, Keltannon, Arsennon, Coker, Dundrum and Gomram; at which last place he ordered governor Hammond, and all the officers of Ormond's regiment, to be shot, after the town was surrendered. On the twenty second of March, he invested Kilkenny, which was defended by Sir Walter Butler, with a numerous garrison: but the governor was obliged to surrender on honourable terms. Cromwell then laid siege to Clonmell, in which was a garrison of two thousand foot, and one hundred and twenty horse. The bishop of Ross headed five thousand men to relieve the town; but was defeated by lord Broghill, who killed seven hundred, took the bishop prisoner, and hanged him before the walls of one of his own castles, which immediately surrendered. In the mean time, Cromwell vigorously pushed on the siege of Clonmell, which was gallantly defended by Hugh O'Neal: but the place was taken by storm, and most of the garrison put to the sword. While Cromwell was conquering in this part of Ireland, Coot and Venables brought all the north under his obedience; where they killed in one engagement three thousand of the old Irish rebels, headed by the bishop of Clogher, who was taken prisoner, and met with the same fate as the bishop of Ross.

The Scots were now endeavouring to restore the king, and the English parliament resolved to carry the war into Scotland; for which purpose Cromwell was hastily called out of Ireland. But, before his departure, he found a way to send above forty thousand men out of that kingdom; by publishing a proclamation to permit all the Irish officers to enlist what soldiers they pleased, for the service of foreign princes: When the Marquis of Ormond, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and intreaties of the Irish who were with him, could not draw together a body of five thousand men. Thus the affairs of Ireland were in such a good condition when Cromwell was recalled, that there was lit-

tle left to be done by his son-in-law Ireton, whom he constituted lord-deputy, and returned to England in May; being met by the lord-general Fairfax, with many members of parliament, and officers of the army, on Hounslow-Heath, who conducted him to London in a triumphant manner, where the lord mayor and aldermen congratulated him on his safe arrival. He had reduced almost all Ireland in the space of nine months, and spread devastation wherever he came; for which he received the thanks of the English parliament; but his name and memory will be for ever cursed by the descendants of the Irish papists.

The king could not venture into Ireland, and retired into the isle of Jersey, where he had been proclaimed by Sir George Carteret, the governor of this island; together with those of Guernsey, Man, and Scilly, which had not yet submitted to the parliament. His majesty had friends in Scotland, who wanted to get him admitted without any condition: with this view, Middleton, Monroe, the Gordons, and others, assembled some forces in the north, and seized Inverness: but the parliament sent some troops against them under Strahan and Ker, who dispersed the mutineers before they could collect all their forces. Jersey could not long afford his majesty subsistence: he was unwelcome both to France and Holland: he was entirely excluded from Ireland; and began to look with another eye upon Scotland: from whence the committee of estates had sent Mr. George Windham to Jersey, to acquaint the king, they were desirous to treat with him concerning his establishment in their kingdom. His majesty appointed Breda for the reception of the Scotch commissioners, who met him there on the fifteenth of March, and presented the conditions on which the Scotch parliament and kirk would admit him to the exercise of the regal power. These conditions consisted of four articles; whereby they required, "That all excommunicated persons might be removed from having any access

“at court: that the king would confirm the national covenant of Scotland; as also the solemn league and covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland: that he would establish the Presbyterian government in all his dominions, and observe the same himself: and that he would permit all civil matters to be determined by the parliament, and all ecclesiastical matters by the kirk of Scotland.” These conditions seemed very hard and unreasonable to the king, who regarded the offer of the crown of Scotland no farther than as a means of restoring him to the throne of England; which was the principal object of his attention. He was to renounce his friends, and his religion: though the former had been loyal adherents to his father, who died a martyr for the latter. The king objected to the covenant, as well as to his own profession of Presbyterianism: but the Scotch commissioners had not power to recede from any article: and his majesty, after temporizing in vain, accepted the conditions; only the signing of the covenant was deferred till his arrival in Scotland, where he was hourly expected; but, as he was obliged to submit to these conditions, he intended to observe them only as a matter of form.

While this treaty was in agitation, James Graham, marquis of Montrose, landed with five hundred Germans in the north of Scotland, and published a manifesto, declaring, “That he was come with a commission from the king to protect his good subjects; but with no design to obstruct the negotiations of Breda; and that, if the treaty succeeded, he should readily lay down his arms on the first command from his majesty.” The parliament of Scotland conceived that the arrival of Montrose was intended to obstruct the treaty of Breda, and oblige them to desist from those conditions that were thought necessary for the safety of the kingdom: upon which they raised six thousand men under the command of David Leslie, who detached colonel Strahan before him with three hundred horse, to awe the

country, and prevent the Highlands from joining Montrose. The marquis received little assistance; and, on the twenty-ninth of April, was surprized and defeated by Strahan, who killed three hundred of his men, and took an hundred prisoners. The marquis escaped in the disguise of a peasant, and put himself into the hands of Mackland, laird of Affin, who had formerly served under him, and promised to conceal him; but treacherously delivered him to Lesley, who immediately sent him prisoner to Edinburgh, and Mackland received two thousand pounds for his treachery. The brave, loyal, but unhappy marquis, was met by the common hangman, and carried through the streets with the most brutal infamy that could be devised. The parliament paid no regard to his birth, and condemned him to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high; with this addition to his sentence, that, after he was dead, his head should be cut off, and set upon Edinburgh Tolbooth; his legs and arms over the gates of Stirling, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen; and his body buried under the gallows. The marquis, when he received sentence, told the parliament, "He esteemed it a greater honour to have his head stand on the prison-gate for his loyalty to the king, than to have his picture placed in his bed-chamber." The sentence was executed in all its rigour, on the thirty-first of May: but the behaviour of the marquis, under all his sufferings, was as great and firm to the last, as the fury of the covenanters against him was inveterate and universally detested. At his death, he testified an entire persuasion of the justice of the cause he had supported: told the people that Charles the first died a martyr; and assured them Charles the second would observe all his promises to the Scotch; wherein the marquis was as much mistaken as the lord Capel, who said as much at his execution.

The king complained loudly to the Scotch commissioners at Breda, of the execution of this loyal nobleman: but he

was obliged at present to stifle all farther resentment, and sign the conditions; after which, he went to Scheveling, near the Hague, where he embarked with some faithful adherents on board some Dutch men of war, furnished by the Prince of Orange, and arrived at the Spey in the north of Scotland, on the sixteenth of June. The council demanded, that the king would sign the covenants, before he set his foot on the shore; to which he was persuaded to consent; and was then conducted to Dundee, where he was attended by one committee from the parliament, and by another from the kirk, who were urging his majesty to sign several propositions, before they would agree to his coronation, which was deferred on that account till the beginning of the next year.

The Marquis of Argyle, who was at the head of the Scotch government, received the king with extraordinary reverence, and outward marks of respect: but all his English domestics were removed, except the Duke of Buckingham; and the Hamilton party, called Malignants, or Engagers, were kept at a great distance. This gave great uneasiness to the king, who saw himself in the hands of men to whom he was a stranger, and whose principles were entirely different from those in which he had been educated. The minister pretended, his promise and oath to profess presbyterianism obliged him to receive their instructions: they made no scruple of branding the hierarchy and worship of the church of England with the name of Doctrine of Devils: and the great rigour the kirk used towards him, contributed not a little to beget in the king an aversion to all sorts of strictness in religion. The Scots were soon persuaded, the king had sworn against his conscience; and Argyle quickly fathomed his mind: so that the king was mistrusted, while the estates were raising an army for his assistance against the parliament of England, who were making the necessary preparations for invading Scotland.

The lord-general Fairfax was of opinion, that to begin a war with Scotland, would be contrary to the covenant; but Cromwell alledged it was justifiable, because the Duke of Hamilton had invaded England, by authority of the Scotch parliament, which was contriving another invasion in favour of the king. Lord Fairfax would not act against his conscience, and resigned his commission, which was conferred on Cromwell, and Fairfax had a yearly pension of five thousand pounds settled on him, in acknowledgment of his services. The real intention of this war was to support the independents: but a manifesto was drawn up, whereby the parliament charged the Scots with a design of obliging the English to acknowledge King Charles the second, and to impose their form of religion upon the English nation. The committee of estates in Scotland expostulated upon the injustice of this invasion; and raised an army with all possible diligence, under general Lesley.

The lord-general Cromwell, on the twentieth of July, assembled all his troops on Haggerston Moor, four miles from Berwick upon Tweed; when there appeared a gallant body of five thousand horse, and eleven thousand foot. He published his manifesto on the borders of Scotland; after which he entered that kingdom, and proceeded without any interruption to Dunbar, where he was supplied with provisions from the ships sent thither from England for that purpose.

General Lesley encamped his army near Edinburgh, consisting of twenty thousand men. Cromwell advanced towards the Scots, and began a few skirmishes; but found them too strong to be attacked, and retired towards Musselborough, where he remained several weeks, endeavouring to draw the Scotch army out of their intrenchments, which exhausted his provisions, and so much diminished the number of his men, that he was obliged to return to Dunbar. The Scotch general followed Cromwell with one of the best

armies that Scotland had ever brought together, and posted his troops on a hill, about a mile from Dunbar, where there was no attacking them. Cromwell was then in great distress, and looked on himself as undone. Cromwell called his officers to a day of Seeking the Lord, in their style; when he said, that he felt such an enlargement of heart in prayer, that he doubted not but God would give him the victory; which inspired his soldiers with courage, who were all of them fanatics. General Lesley was not for attacking the English, but only for watching an opportunity to engage them with advantage; in which he was frustrated by the clamours of the ministry who were in his army, and promised a certain victory against the English sectaries. On the second of September, the Scotch army, which was now augmented to twenty-seven thousand men, descended the hill; and Cromwell resolved to attack them early next morning, with his whole force, which was now reduced to twelve thousand men.

The night before the battle proving dreadfully rainy and tempestuous, the lord-general took more than ordinary care of himself and his army. He refreshed his men in the town, and above all things secured his match-locks against the weather, whilst his enemies neglected theirs. He drew out a party of horse early the next morning, and falling upon their horse-guards, made them retire. Then his bodies both of horse and foot immediately advancing, the fight grew hot on all sides; till after about an hour's dispute, the whole numerous army of the Scots was totally routed. Two regiments stood their ground, and were almost all killed in their ranks. The rest fled, and were pursued as far as Haddington with great execution. About four thousand were slain on the place and in the pursuit, and ten thousand taken prisoners, many of whom were desperately wounded. Fifteen thousand arms, all the artillery and ammunition, with above two hundred colours, were taken; and all with

the loss of scarce three hundred English. Prisoners of note were Sir James Lumisdale, lieutenant-general of the foot, the lord Libberton, who soon after died of his wounds, adjutant-general Bickerton, scout-master Campbel, Sir William Douglas, the lord Grandison, and colonel Gordon; besides twelve lieutenant-colonels, six majors, forty-two captains, seventy-five lieutenants, &c. The two Lesleys escaped to Edinburgh, which upon the news of this defeat was immediately quitted by its garrison, and Leith resolved to admit the conquerors, not being able to keep them out. Thus this formidable army, which had so lately triumphed in a confident assurance of victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half so numerous, which at the same time was reduced almost to the last extremity. But this extremity making them fix upon so firm a resolution either to conquer or die, and withal their falling so suddenly upon the Scots, when they so little expected them, but designed first to fall upon them, seems to be the true occasion of this wonderful turn of affairs. The lord-general himself drew up a narrative of this memorable victory, and sent it by a courier to the council of state, who ordered it to be read in all the churches of London with solemn thanksgiving: and the colours taken in this battle being sent up to the parliament, were by their orders hung up as trophies in Westminster-hall.

This great success put new life into the English soldiers, who by this means, after having been so long tossed up and down, almost spent by hard duty, and reduced to such extremity, that they were in danger of being starved, now met with good accommodation and refreshment, and had an opportunity to furnish themselves with all necessary supplies. Soon after the battle was over, the lord-general, the better to improve his victory, and to secure what he had obtained, sent Lambert with a strong party of horse and foot, to attempt Edinburgh, the chief city, and secure Leith,

that the English ships might there the more readily and conveniently supply the army with all necessaries. The Scots, upon the news of their army's defeat, having deserted Edinburgh, Lambert on the same day obtained a quiet possession of it, as also of Leith; in both which places were found several pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a considerable quantity of provisions; which the Scots, by reason of their haste, could not carry away with them. . But though the English had thus possessed themselves of the town of Edinburgh, the castle still remained in the hands of the enemy, which, though judged impregnable, was at last reduced by Cromwell.

The lord-general staid some small time at Dunbar, to settle matters, and to dispose of the prisoners; who being so numerous, that it seemed as much trouble to keep them as it was to take them; about five thousand of them, who were sick and wounded, were set at liberty, and the rest were driven to Berwick by the English soldiers appointed to convey them thither. Soon after Lambert had taken possession of Edinburgh, the lord-general himself came up, and caused his whole army to march into that city, which was done without any loss, except one of the soldiers having his arm shot off by a cannon-bullet from the castle, which soon after surrendered.

After the defeat at Dunbar, a new army was raising in Scotland to oppose Cromwell, and the Hamiltonian party were called in to serve the king, who was now to head those forces; though the rigid covenanters were afraid of trusting him before. However, they compelled him to sign a declaration, very prejudicial to the memory of his father, and derogatory to his own honour. This declaration was not attended with those advantages which the king expected, and he was prevailed on by the Marquis of Huntley, and some others, to escape from St. Johnston, into the Highlands, where they promised to meet him with a confi-

derable body of troops; but they were unable to perform their promises, and the king returned to his former residence, on an invitation from the committee of estates. The king was crowned at Scone, on the first of January, 1651, when he received the covenant; and from that day all persons had access to him, without distinction of party. The Scots army was ready the beginning of June, before Cromwell could take the field for want of forage. The king set up his royal standard at Aberdeen, from whence he marched to Stirling, and mustered his army, which consisted of fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, commanded by himself in person, who appointed the Duke of Hamilton his lieutenant-general; and David Leslie major-general; Middleton lieutenant-general of the horse, and Maffey major-general of the English.

The parliament of England took care to supply Cromwell with men, money, and provisions, early enough to open the campaign. On the twenty-fourth of June, he marched against the king, whom he could not bring to an engagement; but took several little forts, and then sent general Lambert to invade the county of Fife, where he defeated four thousand men, commanded by major-general Brown, who had two thousand of his men killed upon the spot, and himself taken prisoner, with most of his officers, and twelve hundred men. By this means, Cromwell deprived the king of any further supplies from that country, and reduced every place he came near; which obliged the king to think of marching into England; though this project was opposed by the Marquis of Argyle; and, by a letter wrote from the Duke of Hamilton to his niece, it appears to have been a desperate step: yet Lord Clarendon represents it as a matter of election, rather than necessity.

The king received no interruption from Cromwell, and on the sixth of August entered England, at the head of eighteen thousand men, who immediately proclaimed him king.

Cromwell foresaw, and foretold the fate of this march. He left major-general Monk in Scotland, with six thousand men; and then followed the king, with the rest of the army, into England, who he imagined would march to London with all possible expedition.

The king entered England full of hopes that all the enemies of the independency, as well presbyterians as royalists, would join him: but he found himself disappointed as he marched through Lancashire, where he expected most friends. He was joined by James Stanley, earl of Derby, who raised fifteen hundred horse in Lancashire; which were met and defeated near Wiggan by colonel Lillburn, at the head of ten troops of horse, who killed most of the royalists, among whom were the brave Lord Widdrington and Sir Thomas Tildesley. This defeat of the Earl of Derby intimidated the royalists in those parts, and induced the king to proceed to Worcester, where he arrived on the twenty-third of August, when he was honourably received, and solemnly proclaimed by the magistrates. His army was so much diminished by desertion, and there were such little hopes of its being augmented, that the king was obliged to intrench himself at Worcester, and expect the approach of his enemy.

Cromwell, in his march, was joined by Fleetwood and Desborough, with such additional forces, that his army amounted to thirty thousand men. He began with an attempt upon Upton-bridge, seven miles from Worcester, designing there, if possible, to pass over his army. Lambert was appointed to manage this affair, who immediately detached a small party of horse and dragoons, to see how feasible the enterprize might be. This party coming to the bridge, found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this these daring fellows passed, who finding the Scots took the alarm, presently betook themselves to a church for security. Hereupon Massey, who lay at Upton with about sixty dragoons, and two hundred horse, gave a camifado on

the church; but major-general Lambert, having in the mean time passed over a new supply of horse, fell furiously upon the enemy's party, and overpowering them, forced them to a retreat; which Massey supported with so much bravery, that sometimes facing, then fighting, and so falling off, himself brought up the rear, and never quitted his station, till he arrived with his men at Worcester. In this encounter his horse was killed under him, and he received a shot in his arm. The bridge being thus gained, all possible industry was used to make it up; so that lieutenant-general Fleetwood's army quickly passed over; which still marching forward, they laid a bridge over the Teame, which falls into the Severn, about a mile beneath Worcester: and the general, in the mean time, caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the Severn on his side; and this for the better conjunction of the army, and that the enemy might be the more straitened.

The Scots drawing out to oppose the lieutenant-general's passage, the lord-general resolved to divert their design, or to oblige them to fight on great disadvantage: to which end, himself in person led over the river two regiments of foot, colonel Hacker's horse, and his own lifeguard, on that side of Worcester which he designed to attack. Whilst this was doing, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, assisted by colonel Goff's and major-general Dean's regiments of foot, maintained a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the Scots had lined thick with musqueteers, judging that to be the safest way. And indeed they stoutly maintained their ground, till colonel Blake's, Gibbon's and Marsh's regiments came in and joined with the others against them; upon which they retreated to Powick-bridge, where they were again engaged by colonel Hains, Cobbet and Matthews; and perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at last to secure themselves by flying into Worcester.

Presently after, the king calling a council of war, it was

resolved to engage Cromwell himself. Accordingly, they on a sudden sallied out against him with so much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not sustain the shock, but was forced to retire in some disorder; and his cannon likewise were for some time in the power of the king's party: but multitudes of fresh forces coming in, at last turned the scale on Cromwell's side.

The battle continued for three or four hours with great fierceness and various success, till the Scots being overpowered by Cromwell's superior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confusion to secure themselves. The horse made as fast as they could back again towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being closely pursued by some of the conquerors, who furiously flew through all the streets, doing such terrible execution, that there was nothing to be seen for some time but blood and slaughter. As soon as the lord-general had forced his way through Sudbury-gate, whilst his party were killing and slaying all they met with, he with some regiments ran up to the Fort-royal, commanded by colonel Drummond; and being just about to storm, he first ventured his person through whole showers of shot, to offer the Scots quarter, if they would presently submit, and deliver up the fort; which they refusing, he soon reduced it by force, and without mercy put them all to the sword, to the number of fifteen hundred men. In the mean time very considerable parties were sent after the flying enemy, and the country every where rose upon them. The slain in the battle were about four thousand, and the prisoners taken in the fight and in the pursuit amounted to about ten thousand; so that near all were lost. The chief of the prisoners were duke Hamilton (brother of the late duke) who died soon after of his wounds; the Earl of Derby, who not long after was sentenced to death, and lost his head at Bolton; the Earls of Lauderdale, Cornwarth, Rothes, and Kelley; the lord Sinclair, Sir John Packing-

ton, Sir Charles Cunningham, Sir Ralph Clare, major-general Montgomery, major-general Piscotty, Mr. Richard Fanshawe, secretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; besides several colonels, and other inferior officers. There were also taken all their artillery and baggage, a hundred and fifty-eight colours, the king's standard, his coach and horses, and several other things of great value. The king escaped, and having wandered for some time in disguise about England, he at last found means to embark, and landed safely at Dieppe in France. This great victory, which was justly looked upon as the decision of the grand cause between the king and the common-wealth, was obtained by general Cromwell on the third of September, the same day twelvemonth, that the Scots had such a defeat given them by his forces at Dunbar, as lost them their kingdom. Nothing remarkable happened in the military history of England during the remainder of Cromwell's and Charles II's. reign.

James II. succeeded to the crown in February, 1684, and on the eleventh of June, 1685, the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lime, in Dorsetshire. When he landed, he had only eighty-three followers; but in four days after his landing he had two thousand foot and three hundred horse. He was proclaimed at Taunton, and by the time he arrived at Bridgewater, his army consisted of six thousand men, and was again proclaimed king. His army would have increased prodigiously, if he had been properly supplied with money and arms. The Earl of Feverham was sent against him with a regular army of two thousand foot, and seven hundred horse. Lord Grey behaved ill, and cowardly ran away, and Monmouth was defeated. The royalists had about four hundred men killed, and the rebels about one thousand five hundred men killed, and one thousand taken prisoners. The duke was taken himself, and beheaded on Tower-Hill, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. About the

same time, Argyle was defeated in Scotland. James, by his arbitrary proceedings, had so alienated the minds of the people, that the Prince of Orange sent, in October, his declaration for invading England, and on the fifth of November he landed at Torbay, with sixty men of war, three hundred transports, and fourteen thousand two hundred and twenty-two land forces. Upon which, on the tenth of December, the king took shipping at Whitehall stairs, and embarked for France; but being put back by contrary winds, he arrived again at Whitehall on the sixteenth. On the twenty-third, he embarked again for France, where he was well received. The French king promised to assist him in the reduction of Ireland, and accordingly on the seventh of March, 1686, he sent him off with thirteen first-rate men of war, six thousand French troops, with all the officers, courtiers, and priests, that came to attend James at St. Germain's, and a great store of arms and ammunition, with two hundred thousand pounds in cash; he likewise gave him his coat of mail.

As Lewis the fourteenth had sent king James into Ireland, the house of commons addressed king William to declare war against France, and promised to support him to go through with the same. A proclamation was published to encourage the French protestants to transport themselves into England, where great numbers arrived, and received that kind entertainment which queen Elizabeth gave to the Walloons, whom the inquisition had driven out of the Low-Countries. This was followed by the declaration of war against France on the seventh of May. The Duke of Hamilton was made the king's commissioner, and lord Melvil was appointed sole secretary of state for Scotland, where a strong party still adhered to king James; though the convention had declared he had forfeited the right of the crown, which was renouncing the family root and branch. The Duke of Gordon kept possession of Edinburgh castle for

the abdicated monarch; and the viscount Dundee got together a considerable body of gentlemen, with some thousands of highlanders, who invited king James to quit Ireland, and to come over to Scotland. Lieutenant-general Mackay commanded the forces for king William in Scotland, who left Sir John Lancer to besiege the castle of Edinburgh; while the general pursued lord Dundee into the highlands, and brought him to an engagement after a very laborious march. The two armies met, on the twenty-sixth of May, at Killieranky, a few miles above Dunkeld, in the shire of Perth. Mackay had four thousand foot, and four troops of horse: but Dundee had six thousand three hundred foot, and one hundred horse; with which he broke through the enemy, and obliged Mackay to retire in disorder, who expected to have been totally defeated, when lord Dundee was killed by a random shot, whose single loss dispirited the men, and gave Mackay the victory. The loss on both sides was exaggerated: but if Dundee had lived, he might have secured Scotland for king James, which would have prevented king William from sending any forces, or going himself to Ireland: for this nobleman was so well qualified to command the intractable highlanders, that his victory was reported and believed for some time at Edinburgh, where the parliament was in the utmost consternation, and the ministry thought of abandoning the government, till their fears were dissipated by the unexpected death of Dundee, and the success of Mackay.

The Duke of Gordon defended Edinburgh-castle till the thirteenth of June, when he surrendered up that important fortress, with all his garrison, upon condition that their lives should be spared. The lords Dunmore, Tarbar, and Lovat, with some others, were secured as disaffected persons. A fort was soon after built at Innerlochy, which was called Fort William, and served to cut off the communication between the northern and southern highlanders. The party for

king James were unable to make any considerable resistance after the death of lord Dundee, and the design was renewed for uniting the two kingdoms; whereby the whole island of Great Britain acknowledged the sovereignty of king William, and submitted to his government. But Ireland was so far from following the example of Scotland, that it was more than two years before that kingdom was entirely reduced to obedience.

As king William was attended by several persons of distinction into England, so king James was attended into Ireland by the Duke of Berwick, and his brother; the Marquis of Powis, whom he had created a duke; the Earls of Dover, Melfort, Abercorn, and Seaforth; the lords Henry and Thomas Howard; the lords Drummond, Dungan, Frensdraught, Buchan, Hunsdon, and Brittas; the bishops of Chester and Galway; and the lord chief justice Herbert, with eleven baronets, fourteen colonels, six lieutenant-colonels, and sixteen majors, who were all English, Scotch and Irish. The principal French officers were, the marquis d'Estrades, Mr. de Rozen, marshal de camp; and three lieutenant-generals, with Mr. d'Avaux, as ambassador, who entirely governed the unhappy monarch their king had so powerfully assisted.

The state of Ireland was very favourable to king James, whose deputy Tyrconnel had disarmed all the protestants in one day, and had formed an army of papists, amounting to thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; which were sufficient to swallow up those in the north, who had taken up arms, and declared for the new government. The calamities of 1641 were apprehended by the protestants, who were threatened with another general massacre by the papists, in revenge for what they had suffered under Oliver Cromwell, and many of them quitted the kingdom, rather than be spectators of its destruction; while others ran toge-

ther for their own defence in the southern and northern provinces of Munster and Ulster.

King James made his public entrance into Dublin on the twenty-fourth of March, with all the ostentation of a conqueror; where he new-modelled the council, created Tyrconnel a duke, and issued several proclamations for raising the value of Irish money, supplying the army, and assembling a parliament to meet at Dublin on the seventh of May. The king acted like a priest, and made himself detested by the protestants, who were most numerous in Ulster, where they held Derry, and some other places for king William. They even ventured into the field; but were defeated by general Hamilton, at Broomore, in the county of Down, and obliged to retreat into their strong holds, which encouraged king James to march towards the north, with twenty thousand men, to force them to his obedience. He took Kilmore and Colerain; after which, he invested Derry, where the inhabitants prepared for a noble defence.

The city of Derry, or Londonderry, is the capital of the county, and situated on the river Mourn, five miles south of the lake or bay of Loughfoyle, one hundred and four miles north-west of Dublin. King William had appointed colonel Lundy governor of this important place; and for its better defence, had sent two regiments from England, under the command of colonel Cunningham and colonel Richards, who never landed their men; and, together with Lundy, shamefully abandoned the citizens to the fury of a siege. There were about seven thousand fighting men in the town, who took courage from despair, and were determined to sacrifice their lives rather than surrender the town, which was invested by king James on the eighteenth of April, and bravely defended by a clergyman, when it was meanly deserted by the governor. This reverend patriot was Mr. Walker, rector of Donahmore, in the county of Tyrone, who commanded a regiment of his own raising, and took upon

the government of the city, in conjunction with major Walker, who maintained the place till it was happily relieved on the thirtieth of July.

They had only twenty guns, and ten days provision; which made them implore a speedy assistance from England; and their uncommon spirit made king James retire from the siege, on the twenty-ninth of April, to meet his parliament in Dublin, while marshal de Rozen continued the siege. Major-general Kirk was sent from England to relieve Derry, but his loyalty was suspected on account of his sanguinary conduct to the unhappy adherents of the Duke of Monmouth; notwithstanding he had deserted that monarch, whose cause he had purchased all his infamy. He had stores, and provisions, to relieve the besieged, who were reduced to such extremities of famine, that they were forced to feed on rats, tallow, and hides. They all, to a man, acted like Romans: though the protestants, for thirty miles round, were stript, and drove under the walls of Derry, to starve before the eyes of the besieged. This act was done by a French officer, and not commanded by king James; though it was contrary to every act of humanity, and many of these unfortunate people perished with cold, hunger, and thirst; while their estates, farms, and habitations, were plundered, ruined, and desolated, by the straggling soldiers, rapinees, and pilferers, who went from the army, followed the camp, and obeyed the council. At last, Kirk happily sent three ships to the relief of the town on the twenty-ninth of July; which obliged the French general to raise the siege on the thirtieth. The garrison lost about three thousand men, and the besiegers about eight thousand, who committed unparalleled barbarities in their retreat, while Mr. Walker embarked for England with an address of thanks to their majesties.

The inhabitants of Inskillin, in the county of Fermanagh, distinguished themselves like those of Derry; and, with

two thousand men, commanded by colonel Berry, defeated six thousand Irish, commanded by general Mackay, near Newton-Butler, on the same day that Derry was relieved; after which they defeated five thousand Irish in the march to Sligo.

No sooner had James landed in Ireland with the French forces, than he was followed by another fleet of twenty-eight men of war, and five fire-ships, with a great number of transport-ships, under the command of Monsieur Chateau-Renaud, who was perceived by admiral Herbert, with nineteen men of war, on the thirtieth of April, as he lay at anchor in Bantry-bay, in the county of Cork. The French admiral came out of the bay, and began the engagement, which continued two hours with great warmth, though with little loss on either side: but the French admiral kept the sea, landed five thousand men, and returned unmolested to Brest, boasting a victory over the English admiral, who received the thanks of the house of commons, and was created Earl of Torrington for his bravery.

The parliament of England had raised eighteen regiments of foot, and five of horse, for the reduction of Ireland, where they allowed king James a sufficient leisure to consider himself invincible: nor could the troops under marshal Schomberg set sail from Chester and Liverpool till the twelfth of August, when he was obliged to go over with one-half of the forces, and without the necessary artillery, or a convoy. He met with a favourable passage, and arrived without any interruption, on the thirteenth, in Carrickfergus-bay, in the county of Antrim, where he safely landed his men, and immediately besieged the town of Carrickfergus, which surrendered on the twenty-seventh.

The marshal was joined by the rest of his forces on the thirty-first: but, instead of landing twenty-three thousand men, they were only fourteen; and he still wanted his artillery, which he ordered to meet him at Carlingford.

directed his march towards that town. The Duke of Berwick withdrew from Newry, and left the town in ashes, on the approach of marshal Schomberg: but general Rozen waited for him at Drogheda with a superior force, which obliged the marshal to encamp at Dundalk, amongst bogs and rivers, where he lost the flower of his army, by sickness.

Colonel Sarsfield took Sligo for king James, and marshal Schomberg was joined by four regiments from Scotland; but the campaign ended without a battle, though the English troops suffered as much from the dampness of the soil, and inclemency of the weather, as if they had come to an engagement.

King William had given public notice to all Europe, that he intended to command in Ireland himself; which implied, that this was to be a decisive campaign, and occasioned the French monarch to send a farther supply of men and money to king James. The English fleet was employed in conducting the queen of Spain from Holland to the Groyne; while the French fleet came out again from Brest, safely conveyed five thousand soldiers to Ireland, and brought that number of Irish to France, without any interruption. King William had also augmented the army commanded by marshal Schomberg, with seven thousand mercenary Danes, under the Prince of Wirtimberg. Both armies were early in motion, and many skirmishes happened. The Duke of Berwick, with four thousand Irish, was defeated at Cavan by colonel Wolsely, while marshal Schomberg reduced the castle of Charlemont, and Balligary; after which, the arrival of King William gave new life to his men, and obliged king James to leave Dublin, with a view of giving the same spirits to his men.

King William reviewed his forces at Loughbrickland, in the county of Down, which he found to consist of English, Dutch, French, Danes, and Germans, who made up an ar-

my of thirty-six thousand effective men. The Irish army retreated from Atherdee, in the county of Louth, on the approach of King William, and encamped on the south side of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, where they composed an army of eight thousand French and eighteen thousand Irish, in all twenty-six thousand men, with which king James was obstinately resolved to hazard a general battle, and make one grand effort for the recovery of his crown, though contrary to the advice of all his officers, who desired him to strengthen the garrisons, and wait for a further reinforcement from France.

The river Boyne flowed between the two armies; and, notwithstanding James was very advantageously situated, king William was determined to pass the river, and give battle to his enemy, who was the father of his wife, and the brother of his mother; though his resolution was opposed by marshal Schomberg. The two monarchs were to contend for three kingdoms, with a thirst of ambition, not untended with a spirit of revenge; and this important stake was to be decided on the first of July, which was a day fatal to king James, as the third of September had been to his brother, thirty-six years before, at Worcester.

King William reconnoitred the enemy the evening before the battle, when he received a slight wound from a cannon-ball, which grazed his right shoulder, as it rebounded from a bank, and it was reported that he was dead. As little respect was paid to the person of king James, who had several tents, adjoining to his own, beat down by the English cannon. But king William had his slight wound dressed, shewed himself to the whole army, and gave orders to pass the river early the next morning.

The Boyne was about waist high, and king William forded it with his army in three different places; in which he found less resistance than he expected: but afterwards met with more difficulties than he had foreseen, because he had

morais to march over, next to which there was a rising ground that formed a natural intrenchment. King William was at the head of his left wing, with the generals Kirk and Sydney; and his right wing was headed by the generals Douglas, young Schomberg, Portland, and Overkirk; while marshal Schomberg directed the center, which was all infantry. Every man wore a green sprig in his hat, and when the two wings had passed the river, they were followed by the center, which was unsupported with cavalry, and exposed to such danger, that marshal Schomberg was first wounded by a party of horse, and then killed by a musket ball from one of his own men, which shot him in the nape of his neck. The Irish horse, with the French and Swiss, who wore pieces of white paper in their hats, behaved with great courage; but the Irish infantry shewed such cowardice, that neither king James, count Lauzun, nor general Hamilton, could bring them to their duty; while King William, and the Prince of Denmark, with the Danish, Dutch, and Irish horse, struck them with such terror, that they shamefully fled, and left Hamilton prisoner, who was upbraided by king William for forfeiting his honour, and reproached by king James with deserting his post. The loss of marshal Schomberg had like to have been fatal to the English army; but his death was nobly revenged by his son, and the Irish would never face again, when Hamilton was taken. King James was not distinguished in this action, and was advised by Lauzun to fly to Dublin, while he conducted the retreat, which seems to have been well executed; for the French and Irish lost only one thousand five hundred common men, with the marquis d'Hocquincourt, lord Dongan, and lord Carlingford. King William lost no more than four hundred men; but the death of marshal Schomberg was an irreparable loss, who was fourscore and two when he died, in defence of the protestant religion, which he had always gloriously supported; and doctor

Walker, who had so nobly protected Derry, unhappily fell in this engagement.

The victory obtained by king William at the Boyne established him upon the throne of Ireland, as well as upon the thrones of England and Scotland. He neglected to pursue the Irish in their retreat to Dublin, where king James immediately assembled the magistracy, to whom he complained of the cowardice of the Irish soldiers, and said he was determined never more to head an Irish army, but would shift for himself as they must do. The dispirited monarch was in possession of the capital of a kingdom devoted to his services: he had still an army of twenty-four thousand men at least in the field, and fifteen thousand more in garrisons; besides an expectation of supplies from France; all which could not prevail upon him to oppose the torrent of his fate, and his pusillanimity sunk him even below compassion. He left Dublin the next morning, and went to Waterford, where he took shipping, and fell in with the French squadron, which safely convoyed him to France, where he spent the remainder of his days at St. Germain's, by living upon the bounty of Lewis, and a yearly pension of seventy-two thousand livres, or about four thousand pounds sterling.

Drogheda submitted to the conqueror as soon as it was summoned; and the protestants of Dublin invited him to that city, from whence the Irish army had retired towards Limerick; but king William was afraid the French would make a descent upon England, or that the jacobites would form a conspiracy against his queen, and was preparing to return to that kingdom, when he received advice that all danger was over. He then proceeded to Dublin; encamped his army at Finglass, and published a declaration of pardon and protection to such of the Irish as should return to their dwellings by the first of August. He reduced the brass money to its intrinsic value; and then divided his ar-

my into two bodies, which broke up their camp on the nineteenth, to reduce the Irish garrisons.

General Douglas could not reduce Athlone; while Waterford and Duncannon surrendered, like Drogheda, to the king; who then resolved to besiege Limerick, where Tyrconnel and Lauzun had drawn all their force.

The king invested the whole town with his army; but his train of artillery was intercepted and destroyed by colonel Sarsfield. However, some pieces were sent from Waterford, and a breach was made on the twenty-seventh of August, when the town was attempted by storm, and the besiegers repulsed, with the loss of five hundred men killed, and one thousand wounded, which obliged the king to raise the siege.

His majesty appointed count Solmes commander in chief of his army, which was ordered into winterquarters: he also put the civil government under lord Sydney, and Thomas Conningby, Esq; as lords justices, and returned to England the beginning of September.

The Earl of Marlborough had been neglected for the sake of employing the Dutch commanders; but he had interest enough to procure a body of troops in England, for the reduction of some places in Ireland, when the king had closed his campaign. The earl intended to reduce Cork and Kingfale. He embarked with five thousand men, which he landed near Cork, on the twenty-third of September, where he was joined by four thousand Danes, under the Duke of Wittemberg, and opened the siege, which was continued with such warmth, that the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, surrendered on the twenty-eighth: but the Duke of Grafton, who commanded the squadron of ships left to cover the siege, was mortally wounded. The Earl of Marlborough also obliged the garrison of Kingfale to surrender on the sixteenth of October; and then returned to England, where he was joyfully received by the people,

as they were proud to have a general of their own, who had been more successful than his rivals. Thus king James was this year driven out of Ireland, and the next year that kingdom was abandoned by the French.

King William provided for the security of Scotland, and appointed general Ginkle commander in chief in Ireland, though it was expected the Earl of Marlborough would have been honoured with that command; instead of which, he was permitted to accompany his majesty to make the campaign in Flanders. When the king had adjusted matters for the security of church and state, he set out again for Holland, on the second of May, and the next day arrived at the Hague, from whence he had been absent only three weeks: but it was the second of June before he took the field.

King James had a considerable army, and some strong towns remaining in Ireland; where three thousand men arrived from France, on the fourth of May, with general St. Ruth, and many other French officers, who were convoyed over by twelve men of war, which also carried large quantities of arms, ammunition, and other necessary supplies, for maintaining the Irish war. The lords justices, and general Ginkle, issued several proclamations to induce the Irish soldiers to lay down their arms, and to deter others from giving them assistance; which were of little effect, and both armies were in motion early in the spring, when many skirmishes happened in different places, till the arrival of general St. Ruth, who was sent over to have the chief command in prejudice of all the Irish officers, and issued out his orders in the name of king Lewis, instead of king James.

General Ginkle assembled his troops at Mullingar, in the county of West-Meath; from whence he decamped on the sixth of June, and two days after obliged the garrison of Baltymore, consisting of one thousand men, to surrender at discretion. General St. Ruth assembled his troops behind

the town of Athlone; and general Ginkle invested the town on the nineteenth, which was bravely taken by storm on the thirtieth, in the very face of the French general, who thought it impossible for the English to make such an attempt, and suddenly decamped in the night towards the castle of Aghrim, in the county of Gallway, about sixteen miles south-west of Athlone; with a resolution to decide the fate of the kingdom by a general battle; though he ought to have proclaimed war at any rate, as general Ginkle wanted to finish it at any expence.

While general St. Ruth was drawing off the Irish garrisons to augment his army, it was necessary for general Ginkle to quit Athlone, pass the Shannon, and give battle at Aghrim: which he began to put in execution on the tenth of July, and the next day encamped on the river Suck, within three miles of the enemy. General St. Ruth shewed himself an excellent officer in the choice of his ground, and the disposition of the camp; but general Ginkle was resolved to attack him, under these disadvantages, and with inferior force.

The French general had an army of twenty-five thousand men, and the Dutch general only eighteen thousand, with which he began the attack, on Sunday the twelfth of July, about eleven in the morning; and St. Ruth endeavoured to animate his men to give their enemies a proper reception, by informing them of the stake for which they contended, and swearing to abide by their colours. The English began the battle with amazing spirit, and the Irish fought as if they were inspired, which made the English think of retreating, when that would have been more dangerous than fighting; and St. Ruth cried out, "Now will I beat the English army to the gates of Dublin;" which was what king William had done to the Irish army when he defeated it at the Boyne. General Talmash rallied the English regiments, and recovered the day; while general St. Ruth was killed with a cannon-ball, as he was making a noble

effort to obtain the victory, and his death was followed with a total defeat of his army, who immediately fled towards Limerick, and were pursued, with great slaughter. The Irish had four thousand men killed, and six hundred taken prisoners: but the English had only seven hundred killed; and, by this victory, determined the war in Ireland.

Gallway was surrendered by lord Dillon, on the thirtieth of July, and Limerick was invested again on the fourteenth of August. The remains of the Irish army had assembled in this town, and amounted to sixteen thousand men, who were determined to make a good defence, or obtain good terms. Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, to see himself deprived of power, despised by the Irish, and hated by the French, but the besiegers found such warm work, that they could not oblige the Irish to capitulate till the third of October, when they obtained very honourable terms, for the exercise of the Roman catholic religion, or their free retiring out of the kingdom; which were extended to all the French and Irish troops and garrisons throughout the nation. Thus the garrison of Limerick, with swords in their hands, obtained more by a desperate resistance, than their countrymen had by an early submission; and, if their surrender finished the war, they had the honour of making the finest capitulation that ever had been known. A few regiments laid down their arms: but the rest were conducted to France, where they have always been formidable to England. King James was now deprived of all hopes in Ireland. Many Irish families had formerly quitted the kingdom, rather than submit to Oliver Cromwell; and their example was now followed by many refugees, who went on board the French fleet, under the protection of Lewis the fourteenth, rather than transfer their allegiance from James the second to William the third.

In 1692, the French king meditated a design to invade England, and for this purpose assembled thirty thousand

men between Cherburg and La Hogue in Normandy. The combined fleet of England and Holland met in the Downs. The militia was raised, and a camp formed. King James repaired to Normandy to conduct this invasion, and published a declaration to induce his old subjects to restore him the crown, placing his hopes in admiral Tourville; though he had the misfortune to see him defeated by the allied fleet, consisting of ninety-nine ships of the line; the French had only forty-four ships of the line, as the Toulon fleet could not join them. The engagement began on the nineteenth of May. Superiority of number obliged the French to run; three of their largest ships got into Cherburg, where they were burnt by admiral Delaval; and twelve got to La Hogue; but it was impossible to take or destroy the transports.

On the twenty-first of February, 1702, king William received a fall from his horse as he was riding in Hampton-court park, the consequence of which was, that he declined till the eighth of March, when he expired, about eight o'clock in the morning.

Queen Anne was proclaimed the same day, and war against France was proclaimed on the fourth of May. A grand alliance was entered into; the Dutch were to maintain sixty thousand men, besides their garrisons; the English were to furnish forty thousand, and the emperor twenty-four thousand, exclusive of the assistance of the empire; but the English always bore the greatest burden: for in the second year of the war she had fifty thousand, and towards the end of it, her own troops, with those of her allies in the different places which were the seat of the war, amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand soldiers.

Keyserfwaert was the first town that was besieged, on the eighteenth of April, but did not surrender till the fifteenth of June. The besiegers had seven hundred men killed, and two thousand wounded.

On the second of July, the Earl of Marlborough arrived at Nimeguen, and assembled an army of sixty thousand men. With these, and some other bodies which joined him, sixty-two cannon, eight mortars and haubitzers, and twenty-four pontons, he encamped at Deckenberg. Having held there a council of war of all the general officers, in order to concert the operations for the remainder of the campaign, he caused the army of the allies to cross the Maese near Grave, and encamped within two leagues and an half of the French, who were entrenched between Gock and Genep, and superior in force to the allies.

After several marches, and other motions to provoke the French to a battle, his lordship evidently perceived that they were as desirous to avoid, as he was to come to an engagement, which they shewed by retreating continually, or by posting themselves in inaccessible places. He therefore resolved, in concert with the deputies of the states general, to drive the enemy from such places as they had on the Maese, in order to secure the navigation of that river, and the communication with Maestricht. At Gravenbroek, during these marches they took a castle, seated in a morass, and surrounded by a double moat, with good palisadoes. Lord Cutts commanded the attack. Soon after General Schultz, with a small detachment, six cannon, and two haubitzers, took the town and castle of Wert.

Marlborough sat down before Venlo on the twenty-ninth of August. Venlo is situated on the banks of a little isle which is formed by the junction of the Maese with the rivulet of Staven. In the year 1558, the first bombs were thrown against this place; and in a little time after they were with greater success made use of at the siege of Watchtendonk. It was now defended by six battalions of foot, two squadrons of horse, thirty-eight cannon, and twelve mortars, all furnished with plenty of ammunition. The troops employed in the siege were thirty-two battalions, thirty six

squadrons, sixty-four cannon, twenty-four mortars and howitzers, and a great number of cohorns. This place being invested by the Dutch and Prussian horse, and a sufficient number of foot being arrived, they began to break ground on the twenty-ninth of August. The English, under the command of lord Cuts, opened the trenches in the quarters of baron Obden, general of the horse; and the troops of the king of Prussia did the same on the other side of the Maese, without the loss of a man. The Prince of Nassau Saarbruck commanded the siege, and general Coehorn had the direction of the attacks.

The batteries being got ready, they fired upon the place on the fifth of September, with all the fury imaginable. They began on the sixth the attack of fort St. Michael, which is on the other side of the river; and the English, under lord Cuts, carried it by assault on the eighth, having entered it, together with the French, after driving them from the covert-way. The garrison was conducted to Boesleduce and Nimeguen, and they immediately erected a battery in the fort, from whence they played with great fury on the town, which was taken on the twelfth, by a very singular accident. The besiegers, having received news of the taking of Landau, were drawn up in order of battle, to make three general discharges of the artillery and small arms, according to custom. The besieged, who were already in distress, observing this, and conceiving they were about to make a general assault, immediately beat a parly; and hostages being given on each side, the capitulation was signed on the thirteenth, and the garrison conducted to Antwerp.

Soon after the taking of Venlo, the count de Noyelles was detached with a body of troops to besiege Stevenswaert, and the Prince of Nassau Saarbruck to invest Roermonde. The officer who commanded in Stevenswaert did not wait till a breach was made before he surrendered the place: he

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capitulated on the first of October, and on the third he and his garrison marched out, in order to be conducted to Namur.

There was now nothing wanting but the taking of Roermonde (a place of more importance, though not so strong as Venlo) to render the navigation safe from Grave to Maestricht. The trenches were opened before that city in the night, between the second and third of October. As the siege was carried on with great vigour, it was brought to capitulate on the seventh, and the garrison marched out on the ninth, with four pieces of cannon, and were conducted to Louvain.

On the thirteenth of October, the army of the allies appeared before Liege, and soon after their troops entered the town, which the French had abandoned in the morning, in order to retire to the citadels. As this city is a member of the empire, they took possession of it in his imperial majesty's name. It was agreed by the allies, that they would not make any use of the town in attacking the citadels, to the intent that it might escape ruin.

The batteries being in order, they began on the twentieth in the morning to fire on the great citadel; and the same evening the trenches were opened in two places, that two attacks might be made, one by the English on the right, and the other by the Dutch on the left. They pushed their approaches that night within forty paces of the counterscarp. The next day the hereditary Prince of Hesse, lieutenant-general, relieved the trenches which were enlarged and perfect; and on the twenty-second they were delivered by lieutenant-general Scholten, and the electoral Prince of Hanover, late king of Great Britain. The allies had hitherto been so fortunate as to lose only a small number of men in this siege, notwithstanding the prodigious fire made by the French; and as the fire made by M. de Coehorn, general of the artillery, was far greater, his cannon and

bombs overturned every thing in the citadel, and made a sufficient breach. All things were immediately put in order for an assault, which was made on the twenty-third, between four and five in the evening; and though nothing more was designed than to secure a lodgment on the counter-scarp, yet in half an hour it was carried, and the soldiers having pushed the enemy to the breach, and made themselves master of it, entered the citadel on every side, which they likewise carried sword in hand, and gained therein a very considerable booty. M. de Violaine, the governor, was taken in the breach, with several other officers: and after some slaughter, which could not be prevented in the first shock, the garrison, amounting to eight battalions, were made prisoners, without any capitulation. The company of cadets in the Dutch guards performed wonders in the attack, and it was chiefly owing to the valour of these young heroes that carried the covert-way. This company was composed of none but the children of French refugees, out of whom many excellent officers have been taken, and some advanced to very considerable commands in the Dutch troops. This company distinguished itself on every occasion which offered during the war, till the battle of Malplaquet in 1709, wherein they were intirely cut to pieces, in forcing an intrenchment.

The taking of the charter-house followed soon after that of the great citadel. Bad weather obliged the allies to defer the attack to the twenty-ninth, and the hereditary Prince of Hesse commanded the Dutch troops at this siege. As soon as the batteries were in order, and they began to fire from them, the commandant, fearing that he and his garrison should have the same fate with those in the other citadel, beat a parley the same day, and demanded to capitulate. The capitulation being concluded, the garrison, composed of five battalions, marched out with two pieces of cannon, and were conducted to Antwerp.

On the twenty-fourth of April, 1703, Bonne, the usual residence of the elector, was invested by lieutenant-general Bulau, with the Lunenburg cavalry, and some regiments of the Prussian horse. The next day lieutenant-general Fagel arrived with the infantry; and as soon as the Duke of Marlborough came, the camp was extended from Rhinesdorf to Kruitsberg. On the twenty-sixth, lieutenant-general Coehorn arrived by water, with the vessels and pontons, and presently a bridge was laid over the river at Rhinesdorf, and the fascines, gabions, and other materials got in all readiness. The town was ordered to be attacked in three places; the first against the fort on the other side of the Rhine, and the other two against the city, and the out-works that secured it. The first attack was commanded by lieutenant-general Coehorn, the second by the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, and the third by lieutenant-general Fagel. Twelve regiments were ordered to each of these attacks, who took their posts on the twenty-seventh. A flying bridge also arrived from Coblentz, with the artillery, consisting of six demiculverins, four quarter-pieces, one hundred carriages, four mortars, six lesser guns, seven thousand cannonballs, twenty-four and twelve pounders, two hundred bombs, from seventy-five to thirty pounds each, eight hundred great grenades, one thousand two hundred lesser, ten thousand hand grenades, two thousand pound weight of powder, with a proportionable number of spades, great bills, and fascines, of ten foot each. On the third of May, the trenches were opened in all the three attacks, and the besiegers continued their approaches with more than ordinary diligence, and with the loss only of seven killed, and twenty wounded before the city; and fourteen slain, and some few wounded in repelling a sally of those in the fort, who were driven back with loss.

In the mean time, the batteries were carried on with that alacrity, and the preparations for destruction appeared

so dreadful, that the governor sent a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, importing, that an agreement had been made the last year, between the elector Palatine and Cologne, that the cities of Dusseldorp and Bonne should not be bombard- ed, in order to preserve the churches, palaces, and other pub- lic buildings; the performance of which agreement he was ordered to request from his grace; and to declare withal, that unless the same were observed, the elector of Bavaria would destroy the city of Newburg, belonging to the elec- tor Palatine. The duke having imparted this letter to the elector Palatine, and taken the advice of the general officers, it was thought convenient that his grace should answer it in general terms, "That it was neither his custom nor his inclination to destroy cities or public buildings out of a premeditated design, provided the enemy's conduct did not put him upon such a necessity." Which answer was sent by a trumpeter.

The batteries being ready on the eighth, the besiegers be- gan to fire with good success; for the same day the chain which held the flying-bridge, by means of which the fort communicated with the town, was broken by a cannon shot, and the bridge staved in pieces, and carried away. Here the enemy had several men slain, while they attempted to save the bridge. Next day the battery which played upon the fort made such a breach, that the general resolved to storm it; when the enemy, not thinking it safe to hazard the event, set fire to their caserns, and retreated into the ravelin, in order to get into the town in boats; but they were so closely pursued by the besiegers into the ravelin, that they had not time to effect their design. Ten men were killed, and thirty taken prisoners, among whom was the command- er of the fort, and three other officers. The besiegers had but three men killed, and some few wounded: a success so unexpected, that the Duke of Marlborough sent away an ex- press to the states-generals, to acquaint them with it.

A little before the gaining of the fort, an unhappy accident happened in general Dedem's attack, (who commanded under Fagel) where one hundred and fifty bombs, and as many grenades, unfortunately took fire, and were blown up, together with a lieutenant and five workmen.

The besiegers being master of the fort, orders were given for the raising in it a new battery, that the cannon and mortars might be brought nearer the town. They began to play on the twelfth, in order to make two breaches, with a design to assault the place from the Prince of Hesse's and general Dedem's attacks. Next day about noon, the besieged, with about one thousand foot, supported by all their horse and dragoons, made a sally upon Dedem's attack, where the besiegers in the trenches were at first put into some disorder. This gave the enemy an opportunity to possess themselves of one of the batteries. However, the besiegers soon recovered themselves, and repulsed the assailants, with the loss of one hundred slain, and as many wounded, besides a major and three captains taken prisoners: while the number of the slain and taken, on the besiegers side, did not amount to half the number.

And now all things being in readiness for to assault the counterscarp and covert-way, on that side next to the Prince of Hesse's attack, the onset began about eight o'clock at night, under the command of major-general Tettau and brigadier Palant, the prince being there in person. The assailants, seconded by the continual fire and mortars of the several attacks, forced their way forward, drove the besieged from their works, and lodged themselves where they had intended. In this action general Tettau was wounded, with about seven or eight officers, and one hundred and fifty soldiers killed and wounded, together with the engineer who commanded in the works.

So much bravery in the besiegers, and such an amazing tempest of artificial thunder and lightning, astonished the

besieged to that degree, that fearing a second storm the next day, being the fourteenth, they beat a parly about three o'clock in the afternoon, and at six the hostages were exchanged; but the conditions of surrender were not produced till the next morning; and then were so extravagant, that they were rejected, and others sent them by the Duke of Marlborough. All things were agreed on the fifteenth, by eleven at night; and presently one of the gates of the city was opened for the besiegers to take possession of it. The capitulation consisted of eleven articles, of which the chief were, that the garrison should march out within two days after signing the capitulation, with their arms and baggage, and four pieces of cannon; that they should be conducted to Luxemburg the shortest way; that they should not carry away the gold and silver; but what belonged to the officers and soldiers of the garrison; that all the records and archives belonging to the archbishop of Cologne should be restored to the chapter; and that all the prisoners taken on both sides, during the siege, should be delivered without ransom. By the taking of Bonne the navigation of the Rhine became free, Rhinberg having surrendered to the Prussians the February before.

On the sixteenth of August, a great detachment of the grand army, under the Duke of Marlborough came before Huy, a little city, with four churches, and a castle, seated upon the river Huy, which runs through it, and from whence it derives its name. Upon the approach of the confederates, the governor broke down the bridge between the two towns, and retired into the castle and forts: whereupon two battalions were sent to take possession of the nearest part of the town. The two next days, all things being in readiness, the trenches were opened against the forts; and about the same time the governor quitted the farthest town, and the lord Ross was ordered to take possession of it. The garrison likewise quitted the forts of Picart and St. Jo-

seph, after they had, for some short time, been cannonaded from the Duke of Marlborough's batteries. The besiegers took possession of them, as also of fort Rouge, which is in a manner commanded by the other two.

On the twenty-third, the besiegers began to play upon the castle; and on the twenty-fifth, all things being in readiness for a general storm, the batteries fired without intermission all that afternoon, and several ladders were fixed at the foot of the castle. Though this was but a feint, yet the besieged, believing the assailants in earnest, beat a parly, and offered to surrender, upon condition that the garrison should be allowed to march to Namur, with the usual marks of honour. Hereupon the Duke of Marlborough sent a messenger to the governor, declaring, that notwithstanding the advantages he had, if the garrison would lay down their arms, all that belonged to the officers and soldiers should be allowed them, and they should be exchanged for a like number of the confederate men, whenever the marshal de Villeroy should desire it. Which proposition being at first rejected, orders were given to renew the assault. But the soldiers refusing to defend the place any longer, the governor accepted the terms offered him by the Duke of Marlborough, and the garrison, amounting to nine hundred men, were made prisoners of war. There was found in the castle a considerable quantity of ammunition, and provisions sufficient to have supplied the garrison for above a fortnight longer. During the whole siege, the besiegers had but eighteen men killed, and thirty-five wounded, besides some officers. On the twenty-seventh, in the morning, the garrison marched out of the citadel, and were all disarmed, except the officers, who, by the courtesy of his grace, were allowed to keep their swords. The Duke of Marlborough, seeing nothing could be done, resolved to take as many towns as possible this campaign.

Limburg was invested on the ninth of September, by lieut-

tenant-general Bulau, with twenty-four squadrons of horse and dragoons. The next day the foot arrived, and the cannon and ammunition being come to Liege, the Duke of Marlborough followed the next morning, with the hereditary Prince of Hesse, and a farther detachment of fifteen squadrons and twenty-four battalions. The thirteenth the besiegers marched to their several posts, and upon the twentieth, the artillery and other necessaries being come up, a lieutenant-colonel, with three hundred men, was ordered to attack the lower town; from whence the defendants retired upon the first assault, and the besiegers took possession of it. They had this advantage by their acquisition, that if the enemy advanced near them, they could block up the town with five battalions, and meet the enemy with the rest of their forces. On the twenty-fifth, the besiegers had finished their batteries, and began to play upon the town with their cannon, and twenty mortars. They continued to do so all the next day, with good success; and the mortars played all night to disturb the garrison.

By the twenty-seventh, the breach was so wide, that the besiegers were preparing to give a general assault the next day, which the enemy perceiving, beat a parly. But all the conditions they could obtain were, that the garrison should remain prisoners of war; that the officers and soldiers might keep what was their own; and that the officers should be allowed twelve waggons to carry their baggage, provided they delivered up one of the gates within half an hour after this agreement. This being done, and the garrison, consisting of one thousand four hundred men, having marched out, the besiegers took possession of the place.

On the fourteenth of August, 1704, the Duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene began to cannonade Blenheim, between eight and nine in the morning, and continued till one in the afternoon; during which time the foot of the left advanced to beat the enemy from that post, wherein they had

cast up an entrenchment with palisadoes, and posted twenty-seven battalions, supported by twelve squadrons of dragoons. They made a stout resistance, which obliged the duke to order the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, who commanded the whole body of the cavalry on the left, to pass the morais, to cut off the enemy posted at Blenheim from the rest of their forces. The passage being very difficult, the enemy repulsed the first squadrons of the confederates with a great deal of fury. But the prince advancing with the rest, fell upon the French gendarms and light horse with an unparalleled vigour, and after four charges put them altogether to the rout. The enemy caused three battalions to advance, who, forming themselves into one, attempted to stop the cavalry of the allies; but were all cut in pieces.

Things being in this condition, M. de Tallard considered that it was high time to draw off the dragoons and infantry out of the village of Blenheim, and resolved upon it, exhorting his cavalry to stand their ground. He sent a trusty person to M. de Marfin, to desire him to face the enemy with some troops on the right of his village, and keep them in play, to favour the retreat of the infantry: but M. de Marfin represented to the messenger, that he had too much business in the front of his village, and the rest of the line, to spare any troops; he not being victorious, but only maintaining his ground. During this discourse, the French horse had again faced the allies, but on a sudden they were ordered to wheel about, which was done with all the disorder that can be imagined. In short, this was so precipitate a flight, that part of the cavalry, and all the gendarms, having turned suddenly towards the Danube, into a narrow nook, which formed a demi-island, they found themselves cut off from the rest of the army, which forced multitudes of brave men to throw themselves into the river, where they were drowned. M. de Tallard, fearing the same

late, surrendered to the adjutant of the Prince of Hesse.

Messieurs de Clerambant and Blansac commanded the dragoons and infantry in the village of Blenheim. The former, without taking a resolution worthy of his name, with a powerful body which was yet intire and covered by the cannon of Hockstedt, as soon as he saw the rout of the cavalry, caused his postilion to sound the Danube, and throwing himself into it, was drowned. The duke having surrounded the village by several lines, advanced to block it up close on the left flank, where the right of the French horse was before posted. The battalions were soon alarmed, and the colonel of the royal regiment bethought himself of saving his life, and those of his soldiers; whom he caused to lay down their arms, and himself surrendered the colours. The duke of Marlborough, judging rightly, that there were old troops in that place, the overcoming of which would cost him dear, made use of M. Denonville, his prisoner, to exhort them to accept of their lives. All yielded at last, though with reluctance, and the articles were signed. The troops were disarmed, and their colours taken from them.

While this was transacted on the confederates left, prince Eugene attacked the left of the enemy, commanded by the elector of Bavaria and marshal Marfin; who, being advantageously posted, made a stout resistance, and disputed the ground with a great deal of obstinacy. But the defeat of Marshal Tallard having discouraged them, they gave ground, and retired, having had twenty-four battalions almost cut in pieces. Their horse likewise suffered very much. The troops of the left took thirty-five pieces of cannon, and those of the right ten: but as the enemy had a greater number of them, it was supposed they had thrown them into the Danube, or the morais.

The allies had in the battle of Hockstedt sixty-six battalions, and one hundred and eighty-one squadrons: the enemy had eighty-four battalions and one hundred and fifty

squadrons. As some of the battalions were not compleat, and one with another, they were reckoned but at four hundred men, this made them seven thousand three hundred and twenty men superior to the allies in foot; and thirty-one squadrons, at one hundred horse each, which the allies had more than they, making three thousand one hundred, their army was in the whole four thousand two hundred and twenty men superior to the allies. Marshal Tallard, with the other officers of note, were sent towards Frankfort and Hanau, under a guard of dragoons. Upon a repartition of the other prisoners, who were sent into the neighbouring places, they were found to exceed thirteen thousand officers and soldiers, including about three thousand, who lifted themselves in the confederate troops. These, with the killed and wounded, made the loss of the enemy amount to almost forty thousand men. They lost also five thousand four hundred carriages, thirty-four coaches full of the ladies of their officers, three hundred and thirty-four mules loaded with equipage, forty pieces of large cannon, and many small ones, twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours and fifteen standards taken by the Duke of Marlborough, eighty more colours or standards taken by prince Eugene, seventeen pair of kettle drums, the military chest, the chancery, the dispensary, three thousand six hundred tents, and twenty-five copper pontoons. The loss of the allies amounted to near twelve thousand men killed or wounded.

His imperial majesty ordered a pillar to be erected at Hockstedt, to perpetuate the memory of this glorious battle, and his own gratitude, by an elegant Latin inscription, which remained till the general peace, when the elector of Bavaria, being restored to his dominions, caused it to be demolished. We must not omit the translation of this inscription, composed by Mr. Stepney, his grace's minister at the diet of the empire, as it does so much honour to our great countryman.

A monument sacred to eternal memory.

On the thirteenth day of August, 1704,

In, and near this place,

Were routed, after an incredible slaughter,

The French and Bavarian armies,

Under the command

Of Emanuel, the Elector

And the marshals of France, Tallard and Marfin:

The first of whom was taken

Prisoner in the battle,

With forty other generals of the first rank,

Nine hundred officers of lesser note,

And twelvethousand common soldiers.

Besides fourteen thousand put to the sword in the field of

Battle,

And four thousand pushed into the Danube.

The victorious army was commanded,

With an immortal glory,

By John, duke of Marlborough, an Englishman,

Who, under the happy influence of his mistress,

Queen Anne,

And the states-general of the United Netherlands,

Led a valiant army from the Thames, and the Maese, to

The Danube,

To succour Germany, that was reduced to the last extremity;

Which expedition he began to accomplish with the greatest

Courage,

In conjunction with the forces under Lewis of Baden,

By taking the strong pass and mount of Donawert,

That seemed impregnable through its deep entrenchments;

And afterwards, having joined the forces commanded by

Prince Eugene of Savoy, brought to perfection,

With the same constancy of mind, and success,

In the decisive battle that was fought here between Blenheim
And Hockstedt.

The enemy's army
Had the advantage of numbers, and ground on their side;
Nor was there any other passage to victory
For the confederates, than through rivers and morasses.
From hence the generals of the confederate armies may
Know,

That valour overcomes all obstacles;
Princes may learn,
That conspiracies with the enemies of their native country
Go seldom unpunished:
And Lewis XIV. must at last confess,
That no prince whatsoever ought to be called
Great
And happy,
Before his death.

On the thirteenth of September, 1704, he invested Landau, which made a stout resistance, and held out till the twenty-sixth of November. At the beginning of the siege they were seven thousand strong, but were now reduced to three thousand four hundred. Traerbach was invested in the beginning of December, and surrendered on the eighteenth. They found in the place twenty-six cannon, three mortars, a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions, and twenty-four hogheads of wine. Thus ended the campaign in 1704.

On Saturday the twenty-second of May, 1706, the confederate army decamped from Borkloen, and marched to Gros Warem. The Danish troops came up with our rear, and encamped at a small distance from us. Here we had advice, that the enemy, being joined by the horse of marshal Marfin's army, and depending on the superiority of

their numbers, were lately come out of their lines, and had made a motion, putting their right towards Judoigne.

The Duke of Marlborough and M. d'Auverquerque, relying upon the goodness of their troops, resolved to advance towards the enemy; and accordingly on Sunday the twenty-third, about three in the morning, the army marched in eight columns towards Ramillies, a village where the Gheete takes its source, that it might avoid the inconveniency of passing that river. Being advanced near the said village, we found the enemy getting into the camp of Mount St. Andre, and placing their right to the Mehaigne. This river flows about half a league from Ramillies, the ground between them being open and level: The Gheete runs from Ramillies to Auterglife, through a marshy ground; and beyond Auterglife the river grows wide, and the ground is impassable.

The enemy had posted a brigade of foot next to the Mehaigne, and filled the space betwixt that and Ramillies with upwards of an hundred squadrons, amongst which were the troops of the French king's household. At Ramillies they had about twenty battalions of foot, with a battery of about twelve pieces of treble cannon: from thence to Auterglife they had formed a line of foot along the Gheete, with a line of horse at some distance behind them.

His grace judging by the situation of the ground, that the stress of the action would be on our left, ordered, that besides the proportion of horse belonging to that wing, the Danish squadrons, being twenty in number, should also be posted there. It was about two in the afternoon before our army could be formed in order of battle, and then we began the attack on our left with four battalions, which pushed the brigade of foot above-mentioned from their post on the Mehaigne. M. d'Auverquerque, about the same time, charged with the horse of that wing. The success was doubtful for about half an hour; which the Duke of Marlborough per-

ceiving, ordered the rest of the horse of the right wing, (except the English, who were seventeen squadrons) to support those on the left.

Here, while his grace was rallying some, and giving his orders for others to charge, he was in very great danger, being singled out by several of the resolute of the enemy; and falling from his horse at the same time, he had either been killed or taken prisoner, if some of our foot that were near at hand had not come very seasonably to his assistance, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this my lord duke had still a greater escape, a cannon-ball having taken off colonel Bringfield's head as he was remounting his grace.

The village of Ramillies was attacked by a detachment of twelve battalions of foot, commanded by lieutenant-general Schultz, which entered at once with great vigour and resolution. His grace hastened our line of foot thither to support them; which, though it was at a great distance, yet came up soon enough to beat the enemy quite out of the village, and at the same time charge the rest of their foot that were posted behind the Gheete, as above-mentioned; and my lord duke ordered the English horse to support them.

By this time the enemy's right wing of horse being entirely defeated, the horse on our left fell upon the foot on their right, of whom they slew great numbers, cutting to pieces about twenty of their battalions, whose colours they took, and likewise their cannon. The rest of the enemy's foot were entirely broke. The horse on the left wing seemed to make a stand, to gain time for their foot to retire; but were charged so quick, and with so much bravery, by the English horse, that they entirely abandoned the foot; and our dragoons pushing into the village of Autreglise, made a terrible slaughter of them. The French king's own regiment of foot, called the Regiment du Roy, begged for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours to the lord John Hay's dragoons.

We pursued the enemy all night, by the way of Judoigne, as far as Maldre, being five leagues from the place where the action happened, and two from Louvain. There the author of this narrative left the army, on Monday night the twenty-fourth, preparing to march so early as to be at the Dyle the next morning by break of day; and to secure the pass of Neder Ysche, which would give his grace an opportunity of further improving this great and glorious success.

Thus we gained an entire and compleat victory, that, next to the blessing of God upon the justice of our cause, must be ascribed to the great courage, prudence and vigilance of the Duke of Marlborough, who was personally present in the hottest of the action, giving his orders with wonderful sedateness and presence of mind. M. d'Auverquerque acted with the valour and conduct becoming a general; the rest of our generals likewise distinguished themselves; and all our troops, both officers and soldiers, fought with the greatest bravery and resolution.

A right judgment could not be made of the exact number of the slain, by reason we did not stay on the field of battle; but the enemy are generally supposed to have had about eight thousand killed, among whom are numbered the prince de Monbazon, and another called prince Maximilian, with divers other persons of note. We took about six thousand prisoners, among whom were two major-generals, two brigadier-generals, a son of the marshal de Tallard, a nephew of the Duke of Luxemburg, a nephew of the late lord Clare, and several other officers of distinction, whose names are not known. We have likewise taken all their artillery, all the baggage they had with them, and their bread waggons, besides a large number of colours, standards, and kettle-drums: and a great part of their heavy baggage, which they had sent away before the action, was also seized by our troops at Judoigne. This army consisted of the best of the enemy's for-

ces, particularly the gendarms, and others of the French king's household, which are entirely ruined.

In the account published by order of the states, we have the following particulars: All things being disposed, it was resolved to attack the village of Ramillies, which was the enemy's principal post. In order to that, twenty pieces of cannon, twenty-four pounders, were brought up; and twelve battalions, who were to be supported by the whole line, were commanded for the attack. About two in the afternoon the cannon began to play against the enemy. Four battalions were at the same time detached to dislodge them from the valley of Taviers, where they had posted six battalions to cover their right wing; our left wing not being able to push on any further, before the taking of that post. Hereupon the enemy caused some dragoons to advance to support the six battalions. All the horse of the left wing of the confederate army marched likewise to attack the enemy's right, which advanced at the same time towards them. It was then that the fight began with a great deal of fury, and continued with great obstinacy, till the horse of the left wing had gained ground enough to attack the enemy in flank; whereupon they soon gave way.

Whilst we were engaged on that side, our foot attacked likewise the village of Ramillies, which was also forced about four o' clock, after a vigorous resistance. The enemy endeavoured to retire from the village; but being got out, they were broke, and entirely destroyed, or taken by our horse; whereupon the army retired a large half league beyond the village, where they drew up in order of battle, behind a hollow road, and some hedges: but our army having advanced between the Yause and the Mehaigne, and extended themselves further in the plain to renew the attack, their right wing retired immediately further off; and their left wing gave ground likewise, before we could come up with them as we wished. The enemy were afterwards pursued by the whole army.

After this Lierre, Bruffels, Bruges, Ostend, Menin, and Dendermonde, surrendered, after having sustained sieges.

On Wednesday morning, the eleventh of July, 1708, major-general Cadogan was sent with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons, to make the ways and bridges at Oudenarde. The army began to march at eight o'clock, and went with such expedition, that the head was, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the bridges, over which the sixteen battalions that were with major-general Cadogan were then passing. The eight squadrons, and the quarter-masters, with major-general Rantzau, were posted on an eminence behind the rivulet that runs into the Scheld. They saw several French squadrons drawn up on the plain, on the other side of the rivulet; and the march of the French army being directed towards their right, they had flung seven battalions of foot into Heaurne, through which the highway runs along the Scheld. The rivulet about is marshy, and hardly passable for horse, though very narrow. These appearances made it uncertain, whether their true design was to hinder the Duke of Marlborough's passing the Scheld, or to gain their own lines between Lille and Tournay, which they might expect to have time sufficient to do. For they could by no means think such a vast army could march five leagues in a very close country, have their ways made, pass a river, and make them disturbance, all in one day.

About three o'clock, the French cavalry in that plain, before our advanced guards, began to disappear, taking their march towards their own right. Then major-general Cadogan, who, between three and four, with twelve of the sixteen battalions, had passed the bridge, attacked the village Heaurne with such bravery (brigadier Sabine, with his brigade, being at the head) that they soon made themselves masters of the village; in which were seven French battalions, three of which were taken entire, as was the greater part of the other four.

Immediately after, major-general Rantzau at the head of the eight squadrons, with the quarter-masters, passed the rivulet, and advanced into the plain, where the French horse had been drawn up between the villages of Rotze and Mülton. Several squadrons of their rear-guard still passing through that plain, the eight squadrons, with the quarter-masters, being formed into squadrons, attacked them with unequalled vigour, and drove them into the close ground and the direct road that led into the march of their own army. Here it was that the prince elector of Hanover distinguished himself, charging with his sword in his hand at the head of a squadron of Bulau's dragoons. His horse was shot under him, and colonel Lusky, that commanded the squadrons, was killed, fighting bravely by him. Lieutenant-general Schulemburg, and several other volunteers, behaved themselves very well, and led up the squadrons. Here the French regiment of La Bertosche, and several other regiments, were entirely broke. The colonel La Bertosche, being fore wounded, was taken; as were many other officers, with twelve standards and kettle-drums.

In the mean time the troops continued to pass the bridges with great diligence. The Prussian horse formed themselves upon the right, in the same plain where our advanced guards were; and the rest of the horse, as they passed, followed the Prussians through the village of Heurne into the plain. The foot, by reason of the length of the march, and that the horse had galloped the most part of the way, arrived later at the bridges, so that till five o' clock there was no foot, except the sixteen battalions.

The Duke of Marlborough, with prince Eugene, being passed into the plain to the head of the horse, where they were forming, and perceiving the vast need there was of foot, sent orders to the foot that had been employed in the attack of the village, to leave their post there, and cast themselves into the hedges on the other side of the plain, to-

wards which the enemy seemed to be marching very fast. There was then but two battalions of ours on that side of the plain, which were major general Collier's and brigadier Grumchon's. They were attacked with great fury, but maintained their post with prodigious bravery till more foot came to sustain them, long afterwards. The duke sent orders after orders for the foot to press their march, the French being then forming, and ready to attack the foot that was there with very unequal numbers. In this time the Duke of Argyle arrived with twenty battalions: they were hardly posted when the French attacked them with fury, driving some Prussian battalions from their post, which, nevertheless the inequality of numbers, they retook again sword in hand. This happened about six in the evening. Count Lottum, by this time, was coming up with the rest of the foot of the right, to sustain this attack. His grace, finding an effort was like to be made on the right, sent to the left for twenty battalions. The left wing, which passed their horse at Oudenarde, and the foot, over the bridges below the town made for that purpose, arriving some time later than the right, had formed themselves in two lines, with the village of Merghem behind them.

As soon as the foot arrived, they formed themselves in two lines before the horse, and then attacked in very good order, the inclosures and villages in the front, wherein the French were posted. About seven o' clock the fire was universal both on the right and left. In most places the French gave way; but, being sustained with fresh troops, the action was maintained very obstinately a good while after. Before the left of the left wing there was a kind of an opening, through which run a road that led into the plain on the top of the hill. The prince of Friesse, at the head of the Dutch foot, cleared this opening. In the instant in which this was performing, the Duke of Marlborough arrived at the left, and prince Eugene took care of the right. At the

same time the fire was seen to enter the wood, and the French yielded almost every where.

The Duke of Marlborough sent orders to M. d'Auverquerque and count Tilly, on the top of the hill, to press the French as much as they could on that side. Accordingly they passed the Danish horse through a narrow defile into a field where all the French household were drawn up under the hedges. Round this spacious field, being possessed by the French, the Prince of Fries brought in the foot; and having formed them into two lines, he led them on with firm resolution, the French every where giving way. The count d'Oxenfirne was along with this prince and the foot. This happened to be upon the flank of the French; so that most of those that were retiring, being beaten from the right to the left, were forced back into the inclosures in great disorder; so that at last, when it was almost dark, many battalions, and more squadrons, cast themselves out in a desperate manner. Some of them, piercing through others, were cut to pieces, some were forced back, some passed unperceived, and others asked to capitulate for their whole regiment.

The disorder was now so very great, and the fire directed so many different ways at once, that it was impossible to know friends from foes; for which reason positive orders were given to fire no more till morning, and rather let the enemy escape, than for the victors to venture putting themselves in confusion.

During the most part of this action, M. d'Auverquerque was on horseback at the head of the troops, in the hottest of the fire; count Tilly was at the head of the horse, and the Prince of Wirtemberg animated the troops every where by his own example, shewing himself in all places where the enemy appeared. Several squadrons of the French household, which advanced to support the foot, were broke to

pieces. Lieutenant-general Rantzau distinguished himself very much on this occasion.

On the right, while the Duke of Marlborough was on the left, prince Eugene having made openings with the foot, sent in the horse to a little plain to attack the French cavalry, which they did with very good success; but pursuing too far, they suffered by the fire of the foot, and by fresh horse that came fast down upon them. The Prussian gendarms distinguished themselves very much, and lost very near the half of their number in the action. Lieutenant-general Watfomre, who shewed very much valour in commanding that attack, was at the head of those troops, wounded slightly above the eye.

Towards night the French hardly made any more resistance any where, every thing seeming to be in the last disorder. Had there been two hours more of light, in all probability their whole body of foot, and their right wing of horse, had been entirely cut off; they being very near surrounded. As soon as it was dark, their troops retired by the road that lies through the village of Hufen, from Oudenarde to Ghent. Their artillery and baggage were not come up; so that, in all the action, they did not make use of above four pieces of cannon. As soon as it was light next morning, the troops that had lain upon their arms all night were ready; but the enemy was away, leaving only some foot, and twenty five squadrons for their rear-guard.

The Duke of Marlborough ordered forty squadrons from the right, commanded by the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lundly, with a considerable body of foot to attack them; but the French having cast themselves into the highway that runs to Ghent, they were followed only by four battalions and forty squadrons. The grenadiers of the four battalions pushed twelve companies of the French grenadiers, who were posted on the common road to secure their retreat. The head of the squadrons, falling into the fire of the French

grenadiers, had several officers and soldiers killed and wounded; but the regiment of Pentz suffered most. Of the grenadiers commanded by major Erwing, several officers were killed and wounded on this occasion. Major-general Meredith was slightly wounded with a musket-shot, on the bone of the cheek.

On the enemy's side several were killed and taken. The regiment of Risbourg was entirely ruined, being the last regiment that stood. Two entire companies were taken. Brigadier Pourrienne, who commanded the last brigade, was taken, with many other officers. Their rear-guard was pushed within less than two leagues of Ghent; but there being only one road, without any place to form in, and the foot being very much tired, it was not proper to pursue them any farther. What remained of their army retired under the cannon of Ghent.

The loss of the French in this action amounted to above four thousand left dead on the place: they carried off five thousand wounded, and had about seven thousand made prisoners. On the side of the allies only two thousand were slain, and about the same number wounded. They took thirty-four standards, twenty-five colours, and four kettle-drums.

The remains of the French army marched through Ghent in disorder, having about one hundred pieces of cannon with them, and encamped on the canal of Burges, the Duke of Burgundy taking his quarters at Bellem. They left twenty-two battalions for a garrison in the former place, which suffered so very much in the battle, that they were reduced to a very few men. It was impossible to express the consternation of the French princes and generals; especially when they heard that the Duke of Marlborough was marched towards Ipres, had forced the lines of Comines, and made the necessary dispositions for cutting off the communication between France and the French army.

On the twenty-sixth of June, 1709, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene arrived before Tournay, and invested it so suddenly that night, that the enemy could have no notice of the design, nor any time to put any reinforcements into the place. The garrison consisted of twelve reduced battalions, and five regiments of dragoons. The duke made the same night two detachments, one to surprise St. Amana, a place on the Scarpe, and another to surprise Mortagne, a post where the Scarpe falls into the Scheld. The enemies, who had seven hundred men in St. Amand, retired upon the approach of the confederate troops to Valenciennes, insomuch that the detachment took post therein without any opposition. Mortagne met with the same fate, and the Prince of Nassau left a detachment in each of those places.

The heavy artillery, which had been sent back from Menin to Ghent, was ordered to join the army with all possible speed, and the generals made the necessary dispositions for the siege. When the troops designed to carry it on, being thirty battalions and thirty squadrons on each side the Scheld, took post near the town, the governor, observing their motions, burnt the suburbs. At the same time, the several attempts the enemies made to throw reinforcements into the town, was a sufficient confirmation to the allies, that he wanted men. Pioneers were summoned out of the neighbouring countries, who being for the most part arrived, and other preparations in readiness, the trenches were opened on the seventh of July, at night, with good success, and almost without any loss in the three attacks resolved upon. They were commanded by three generals of the infantry; count Lottum, general of the Prussians, against the citadel; general Schulemburg, of the Saxons, against the town on the side of Menin; and general Fagel on the side of the river, towards Aeth. The approaches were that night carried on in the two former attacks about three hundred paces; but

the latter proved more difficult, and they could not advance above two hundred.

Marshal Villars, who commanded the French army this year, continued encamped near Lens, whence he made a detachment to retake Warneton and Commines on the Lys, and the Red Fort. Of which the Duke of Marlborough having advice, his grace sent a detachment, under the command of a Hessian lieutenant-general, to relieve those posts. But Warneton being almost without defence, a detachment of seven hundred men that were therein surrendered prisoners of war. The other two posts, being in a better posture of defence, held out till the arrival of the succours, when the enemy retired with precipitation.

The marquis de Surville, lieutenant-general, who was wounded in the siege of Lisle, commanded in Tournay, and M. Megrigni, who, as first engineer, had the direction of the fortifications of the citadel, was the governor of it. The chief strength of the fortifications consisted in the great number of mines made under them: So that notwithstanding an hundred and sixty pieces of artillery, of which an hundred were twenty-four pounders, and sixty mortars, that were employed on the besiegers batteries, there was found great occasion for sapping; for which service miners were sent from Lisle, and others from Maestricht, and with them M. du Mey the engineer, who was director of one of the attacks against the town of Lisle. In the mean time a detachment of French troops from the Rhine joined the marshal de Villars: and that general, who continued in his former camp, detached fifteen or sixteen thousand men to take post between Doway and Marchienne on the Scarpe, to cover the pioneers, who were to work on a line from Doway to Conde.

The siege of Tournay went on apace, and the enemies having cast up a second entrenchment the better to cover their sluices and the wall of the town, count Lottum caused it to be attacked on the fifteenth at night. A lieutenant,

twenty men, leaped into the trench, which the enemies abandoned and retired, except two soldiers, who took that opportunity to desert. The victors, who had no men killed, cast up immediately a line of one hundred and ninety paces, parallel to that which they had taken, and made a lodgment thereon. Twenty-two pieces of cannon and four mortars were mounted in the night in the battery, which began on the sixteenth to batter the wall between the town and the citadel. The same day they took another entrenchment without any opposition, and soon raised another battery opposite to the wall, which was the only defence of the town on that side. They likewise made another lodgment on the fifteenth, at Schulemberg's attack, on the saliant angle of the horn-work, and carried on the trenches along the flank; making on the right a lodgment on the saliant angle of the ravelin. At the attack of general Fagel, after having battered with a great deal of fury the ravelin between the gate of Marvis and the upper Scheld, and made a breach sufficient to be mounted, they lodged themselves, by means of the sap, on both sides of the saliant angle of that work. In the night between the twenty and twenty-first they endeavoured, at Lottum's attack, to make themselves masters of the work before the gates of Valenciennes; but the besieged made a sally to prevent it, and at first put the workmen into disorder, but were soon repulsed. The besiegers had an engineer killed, and two others wounded, with about one hundred soldiers and workmen killed and wounded. Next night they advanced their sapping twenty-six paces towards the gate, having not been able to advance further, because of three sallies the besieged made one after another. In the mean time they made themselves masters of the whole counterscarp, at the attack of general Fagel, and fired into the covert-way of the enemies on the other side of the Scheld, before the attack of count Lottum, with great success. The

attack of general Schulemberg was likewise very much advanced.

The besieged all believing that the attack of general Schulemberg was a false one, to favour the success of the other two, made no preparations on that side, which they might easily have done, till the town seemed like to be taken by that attack. Then marshal Villars made a motion with his army, and encamped his left near Doway, and his right on the causey of Valenciennes. He enlarged the fortifications of the latter place, and cast up a bank before the entrance of Conde to make an inundation, and hinder any approach on that side. He made the same preparations for the defence of Conde, and left a flying camp near Lens, for the security of his entrenchments; sent his heavy baggage to Doway, and gave out that he would relieve Tournay. But notwithstanding his motions, the confederate generals did not think fit to charge their camp, but contented themselves to re-inforce the garrison of St. Amand, and to post a brigade of foot at St. Maur, a village near that town.

On the twenty-seventh, general Schulemberg caused the ravelin and half moon at his attack to be stormed; and, notwithstanding the furious resistance of the enemy, and their prodigious fire, his men lodged themselves thereon, and perfected their lodgment, by favour of the continual fire they made from their cannon and mortars. The twenty-eighth in the morning the firing abated, and the enemy made a false move to retake the works they had lost the night before. They attacked very briskly, but were repulsed with the loss of several men. In the evening, the enemy, observing several preparations for a storm, and fearing to be taken sword in hand, hoisted their colours, and desired to capitulate for the town; which was granted, upon the proviso, that the Duke of Marlborough would consent to it. An aid-de-camp was immediately dispatched to his highness at Willemeaux, which was some miles distant from the camp of the besiegers; and

his grace having conferred with prince Eugene and the deputies of the states, it was agreed to capitulate: whereupon hostages were exchanged, and the articles proposed by the garrison were sent to the princes for their approbation. It was pretty late on the twenty-ninth before the capitulation was settled, because they demanded several terms which the Duke of Marlborough did not think fit to grant them.

The articles contained in substance, that the Roman catholic religion, with the bishop and clergy, should be preserved in all their privileges; that the Lifle gate should be delivered up on the thirtieth in the morning, and the garrison to retire into the citadel on the thirty-first. The sick and wounded, which were in a condition to be removed, to go to Valenciennes and Doway at their own cost, six days after the signing of the capitulation. There were several articles for the payment of debts; for the inhabitants or officers withdrawing themselves, families, and effects, and for regulating other particular points. The besieged had leave to send an officer to marshal Villars, to give him an account of matters, who was to be sent on the thirtieth, and return into the citadel on the first of August. On the part of the allies it was demanded, that hostages should be left for the payment of the French King's debts; that the keys of the magazines should be delivered up, and the mines faithfully discovered; and, that the inhabitants of Tournay might have leave to withdraw their effects out of France. The articles relating to the inhabitants of Tournay in particular were left to the management of the deputies of the states.

On the sixth of August, the states-generals received letters from their field deputies, with the unexpected news of a proposal made by the French for surrendering the citadel of Tournay. The marquis de Surville proposed to the generals to appoint a person to treat with another appointed by him; in consequence of which the sieur de Lalo, brigadier in the British troops, and the marquis de Ravignan,

drew up and subscribed an agreement; by which, among other things stipulated, the citadel of Tournay was to be evacuated and surrendered to the allies on the fifth of September at noon, in case the king's army did not oblige the thirty battalions and ten squadrons, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, who were employed in the siege, to raise it. But these articles being sent to the French court for approbation, his most christian majesty would not ratify them, but upon condition that there should be a cessation of arms in general in the Netherlands, till the said fifth day of September; which the allies having rejected, the siege was carried on with all possible vigour. The grand army encamped near Orchies, in order to cover it; and the French continued on the other side the Scarpe, entrenching themselves up to their noses.

Never was there a siege carried on with more difficulties than that of the citadel of Tournay. The whole place was undermined, and every foot the besiegers advanced, they were in danger of being blown up into the air. Scarce a day passed but many of them were destroyed in this manner; and nothing but the obstinate bravery of the ever-victorious confederate army, commanded by generals who found no task insuperable, joined to the streights to which the French garrison was reduced, could have made the former masters of that place in so short a time as a month. To relate all the particulars of this siege, would be only to inform the reader, that the allies lost a world of men; almost every article of the journal being an account of mines sprung, and a list of officers and soldiers that were lost. I shall but just take notice, therefore, that on the twenty-ninth of August, M. du Mey, the chief director of the attacks, was mortally wounded under ground; and that the allies made such a terrible fire upon the citadel, that day and the next, and threw in such abundance of bombs, that the next morning, at six o'clock, the enemy beat a parly, desiring to capitulate, and hostages were thereupon exchanged on both

sides. M. Dolet and the marquis de Ravignan, both major-generals, and four other officers, came out of the citadel; and major-general Hondorff, with five officers more, on the side of the besiegers, were sent in. Dolet and his company were brought to the Earl of Albemarle's house, where the Duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene were met to receive their proposals. They offered to surrender the place, and delivered a project of a capitulation, consisting of eleven articles, the chief of which were, that the chapel should not be made use of for the exercise of any other religion but the Roman catholic, upon any pretext whatsoever: that they should have twelve pieces of cannon and six mortars, with ammunition for twenty charges, and horses, waggons, and other necessaries for that purpose, to be furnished by the besiegers: that the garrison should march out, drums beating and colours flying, with the other usual marks of honour: that they should have four covered waggons: that the prisoners should be returned on each side, and no deserters stopped. The French hostages, having made these offers, were desired to withdraw; and after some consultation they were called in again, and received for answer from the Duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, that they could allow no other conditions, but that the garrison should surrender themselves prisoners of war. Whereupon they returned into the citadel, and about three o'clock in the afternoon the hostilities began again. It was thought fit to insist on having the garrison prisoners of war, as well for the honour of the arms of the allies, as in return for the French king's having refused to agree to the former capitulation: besides, that during the cessation, the French officers had owned that they were obliged to surrender for want of provisions.

On the second of September, about nine, the Earl of Albemarle came to the camp at Orchies, to give the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince of Savoy an account, that M.

de Surville had desired leave to speak to his lordship; and that he having been accordingly in conference with him, he had received proposals for the surrender of the citadel, and desired their highnesses' orders thereupon. With these he returned about ten; and the next morning about break of day, sent word back, that the garrison was at last willing to surrender upon such terms as should be allowed them: whereupon their highnesses immediately came to Tournay, and signed the articles of surrender with the marquis de Surville; by which all the officers and soldiers were to retain only their swords and baggage, and leaving their colours and arms behind, were permitted to return to France, upon condition that they should not serve until they were actually exchanged for the like number of officers and soldiers of the allies; and those taken at Warneton were to be immediately sent back as part of this exchange.

The garrison having surrendered, according to the stipulated conditions, and a gate having been delivered up on the third in the afternoon, the armies of the allies decamped the same night from Orchies, passed the Scheld, joined in their march, and encamped the fourth at Brifoul. The hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, who was detached the third in the morning, with four thousand foot and sixty squadrons, in order to open a way for the investing of Mons, encamped at some distance from the grand army. The fifth he passed the Haine in the afternoon, and the grand army encamped at Sizaut. The next morning his serene highness, having made the dispositions for attacking the lines of the enemy above, from the Haine to the Sambre, he found them abandoned by three regiments of dragoons, who had been posted there. The enemy designed, it seems, to defend those lines; for the chevalier de Luxembourg, with a great detachment, arrived soon after, to sustain the dragoons, and was followed by M. de Villars in person: but seeing that their troops had quitted the post, they marched back to

Quievrain, where they were hourly re-inforced by troops which arrived from their lines along the Scarpe. The prince, having taken possession of the French lines, encamped his right to Jemappe, and his left to Tramiers, whereby Mons was closely blocked up. The army under the Duke of Marlborough lay with its right to Fontoburg, and the left to Hion; his highness having his quarters at Havre on the Haine, a castle belonging to the duke of that name.

The seventh his grace received advice about noon, that the French were marching to attack the body under the Prince of Hesse: whereupon orders were given to the army to decamp from Havre, and leave their baggage behind, and their tents standing. They halted on the hills of Belian, where the Prince of Hesse had his quarters; and there the generals received advice, that the enemy had not passed the defiles of Wafme, but were encamped between Quievrain and those defiles. This made the army continue in that camp the following night, but all the time in order of battle. The Duke of Marlborough being informed, that the garrison of Mons consisted only of nine weak Spanish and two Bavarian battalions, besides the dragoons of Pasteur, conjectured, that the chief design of the enemy in these motions was to oblige him to draw all his forces into the plain between Belian and Frameries, that they might have an opportunity to throw some re-inforcements into Mons. To prevent this, his grace sent some troops towards St. Guillain.

The eighteenth the army marched, and encamped the left wing on the side of the Haine, with St. Guillain before them, and likewise the enemy's army, which was encamped at Bossu. That afternoon the hussars met a party of the enemy at the wood or village of Sars, consisting of four hundred men; and by the help of the Prince of Hesse's advanced guard this army was defeated; and a lieutenant-colonel, with some other officers, thirty soldiers, thirty de-

fersers, and about one hundred horses, were brought in. On the left wing, major-general Grovestein met another party in the opening by that wood, which was defeated, and fifty men made prisoners. That day advice came, that M. de Boufflers was arrived in the enemy's army, with orders from the king to offer the confederates battle.

The Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and M. Gosslinga, field deputy, resolved on the ninth to go and view the enemy's army, taking with them for their guard the prince d'Auvergne, with several squadrons. When they came opposite to Blaugies and Lamberchies, they discovered the enemy's whole army, who were in motion, and posting themselves on the plain of Baugies, with their horse between the two woods. Their infantry they posted in the woods, on the right and left. The generals, having observed this, immediately gave orders for drawing up their army facing the enemy, the right wing extending to Sars, and the left to Bleron, where they placed their cannon, which was played with good execution. The Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene, and the Prince-royal of Prussia, passed that night with M. Gosslinga, that they might be ready if the enemy should make any attempt. In the mean while they had advice, that the enemy entrenched themselves, and were felling the wood to clear as much of it as was necessary for their own motions, and to throw up before them in the manner of Chevaux de Frise.

The tenth it appeared, that the enemy were running an entrenchment cross the plain from one wood to the other, and making use of all the advantages of the ground: whereupon it was resolved between prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and M. Gosslinga, to attack them. At that time arrived M. Hooft, field deputy, from Tournay; as did the next morning M. Rantwijck, another field deputy. The presence of these gentlemen was necessary, to give sanction to an action of such importance: and a council of war be-

ing held upon their arrival, they were at last, with some difficulty, brought to consent to the resolution that had been before taken. That evening lieutenant-general Dedem, with a detachment from the blockade of Mons, took St. Guillain sword in hand, and made the garrison prisoners of war. The same evening also arrived the generals Lottum and Schulemburg, with the troops that had been employed in the siege of Tournay.

The eleventh, early, that detachment came and joined the right wing, over against the wood of Sars, where the enemy's left was posted. The same morning the Duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the field deputies, rode along the line, between the enemy's army and theirs. Several men were killed in their presence by the enemy's cannon-shot.

The French generals had posted their left wing, commanded by Villars, towards Blaugies, having before them the woods of Blaugies and Sart. Their center was before Erquennes and Tanieres; and the right wing, under marshal Boufflers, had in flank the wood of Sanfart. The open ground between the two woods was about three thousand paces broad: an entrenchment was thrown up cross it, and before that entrenchment was a village, covered strongly by ditches and hedges. The woods on both sides were felled and entrenched, and one hundred pieces of cannon were posted in the avenues.

The enemy, who were one hundred and twenty thousand men, having made this disposition, the whole army of the allies, which faced them at a small distance, and was not much inferior in number, moved towards them in the morning betimes. The signal was given before nine o'clock, by firing fifty cannon, for attacking the enemy at once on all sides. General Schulemburg, with the British and other troops from Tournay, was drawn up to the right of the wood of Sart; the infantry of the Prince of Savoy's army

lay in the road which passes through that wood; general Lottum, with part of the foot of the right wing, to the left of the same wood. The rest of the infantry of that wing, consisting chiefly of Hanoverians, had to front the lines in the opening between the village and the said wood. The infantry of the states, commanded by the Prince of Orange, some battalions excepted, who attacked the wood of Sanfart, had in front the lines between the village and that wood. The horse of the whole army were posted behind the foot, to support and second them where the ground would permit.

At the signal all moved at once, and began the attacks with incredible bravery, and with such success at the wood of Sart, that after an hour's resistance, the enemy, at all the three attacks there, were driven out of the wood, and out of their entrenchments. On the left, between the village and the wood of Sanfart, the fight lasted longer; and the Dutch there, having three entrenchments before them, forced the two first; but in the attack of the third, were, by the furious fire of the enemy, repulsed, losing a vast number of men. But rallying again, and the right wing having in the mean time made themselves masters of the wood of Sart, and coming to flank the entrenchments between the two woods, the enemy quitted these entrenchments. This gave the horse an opportunity to break into them; and though the first squadrons which entered were repulsed, yet all the cavalry broke through, advanced into the plain, and there faced the enemy's horse: whereupon the enemy's whole army fell into disorder; in the mean time, on the left the confederates made themselves masters of the entrenchments in the wood of Sanfart, which was facilitated by some of their squadrons falling furiously upon the enemy's flank there.

The British troops having forced into the enemy's entrenchments, the right of the Duke of Marlborough's army

marched through the wood with much difficulty, forcing the enemy to retire as they advanced. When they had pierced quite through, the English foot, with that of prince Eugene, began to form themselves on the plain, after being much divided by fighting through the thickness of the wood.

The Duke of Marlborough commanded an halt as soon as they came into the plain, and rode to observe what had passed on his left, where the troops of the states had attacked the enemy in the plain between the woods of Sart and Sanfart. The Duke of Marlborough, observing the vast loss which the Dutch troops had suffered, ordered lieutenant-general Withers to march with the body under his immediate direction to sustain them; but upon farther deliberation, and notice that the lieutenant-general had been attacked, and was actually engaged with the enemy, and that all affairs went well on the right, the duke thought fit rather to press on the advantages there, than to hazard a new motion towards the left in the heat of the action. It was soon after that the enemy's left began to retire towards Attich, and draw off their cannon from the plain before Bleron. Their foot also began to break in the center: whereupon the Duke of Marlborough commanded the Earl of Orkney to attack them in their entrenchments on the plains of Bleron, with directions, if he succeeded there, to post himself in those entrenchments, and cover the horse as they should file off through the woods into the plain, in order to charge the cavalry of the enemy, which were there drawn up. This was executed with great resolution and success; and though the first squadrons, as we said, were repulsed, yet before the horse of the allies were all marched into the plain, and while they were forming themselves in order of battle, the French horse retired by the way of Bavay; and the right of their foot, which were entrenched on the plains of Bleron, marched off with very much precipitation, between the source of the river Honneau and the wood Sanfart.

The enemy's troops being thus put to the rout on all sides, left behind them their cannon, and what else they had. The Prince of Savoy, who in the beginning of the action was slightly wounded in the head, the Duke of Marlborough and count Tilly, were, during the whole fight, on the right and left wings, continually at the head of the troops, in the hottest of the fire, leading them on. The field deputies animated the troops all the while by their presence, and M. Gossinga had a horse shot under him. All the general officers and soldiers shewed in this bloody battle (the bloodiest indeed that had been fought for many years, and between the most numerous armies) as much resolution and firmness as ever were seen, or ever can be expected from valiant men; the battle was very obstinate from half an hour past eight in the morning, till half an hour past two in the afternoon; and the enemy were so advantageously posted, that when the battle was over, the allies wondered how they had surmounted such difficulties.

Above twenty thousand men on both sides were left dead on the field of battle: nor must it be wondered at, that more than one half of these were lost by the victors. The day after the battle was employed by the allies in seeking for their wounded, and interring part of their killed: which done, the army returned to the same camp they were in three days before the battle; their left wing extending to Gogny Gauchi, and the right near the Haine.

The enemy continued their retreat, and one of their brigades of foot retired towards Conde: three others were the next day before Valenciennes, at the time the gates are usually opened. Good part of the infantry of their right wing drew off towards Maubege; but the gros of their horse and foot, who were in the main body of their army, having passed the defiles of Amfroidpre, halted between Warnies and Commynes, and the same night passed the rivulet of Renello, encamping with their right at Quesnoy,

and extending their left towards Valenciennes. Marshal Villars finding himself very ill of a wound he received in his knee, to which the French ascribed much of their misfortunes, marshal Boufflers, who arrived in the camp just before the battle, took on him the command of the French army.

The allies gave the enemy leave to fetch off their wounded from the field of battle, on condition that they should be answerable for them in exchange as prisoners of war. For this end there was a conference at Bavay, between lieutenant-general Cadogan, on one part, and the chevalier de Luxembourg on the other. About three hundred officers, as well wounded as others, were sent to the enemy on their parole. The French took twenty-four from the allies, whom they likewise sent back.

The siege of Mons being resolved upon, the generals ordered a vast quantity of fascines to be got in readiness, sent for the train of artillery, which arrived at Brussels, and made all the necessary dispositions for that enterprize. The Prince of Nassau Friesland, who was appointed to command it, took post the twentieth near the town, with thirty battalions and thirty squadrons: his highness had under him three lieutenant-generals, eight major-generals, and nine brigadiers. The whole army made a motion at the same time to cover the siege; the right, under prince Eugene, taking post near St. Guillain; and the left, at Villers-Missernicol on the Trouille. The Duke of Marlborough had his quarters again in the castle of Havre.

In the mean time the enemy gave out, that they would not suffer Mons to be taken in their sight, but would venture a second battle to resolve it. To be ready for them, the quarter-master-general went out on the twenty-fourth, and marked out a camp for the army, in which all the troops knew what posts every battalion and squadron was to take, if the French advanced to disturb this siege. The

same morning a major, with two hundred foot, forty horse, and one hundred workmen, were sent to cut a dyke between Conde and St. Guillaín; which had a good effect. The following night the trenches were opened at two attacks, one opposite to the gate of Bertamont, and another opposite to the gate of Havre. Four battalions and two hundred workmen were commanded for the former attack, and two battalions and one hundred workmen for the latter. Lieutenant-general Cadogan, who was at the latter attack, received a wound in his neck, and his adjutant was killed. The twenty-sixth, about three in the afternoon, the besieged made a sally at the attack; and Hill's regiment, which was in the trenches, was put at first into disorder; but being sustained by a regiment of Prussians, the enemy were repulsed. The same day the besiegers took the redoubt of Nimi, found therein two pieces of cannon, and made the officer who commanded it, with thirty-six men, prisoners of war. The thirtieth, a convoy with the artillery from Brussels being arrived, thirty-two pieces of cannon were brought to the batteries at the attack of Bertamont, and sixteen to that of Havre. The first of October, they took a little hornwork and redoubt near the Park-Gate, wherein the enemy had two pieces of cannon, and a lieutenant and an ensign, with forty men, who surrendered prisoners of war. By the taking of these works they became masters of a sluice, which was of very much service for letting out the water that incommoded them. Those works covered likewise the mills, wherein the besieged used to grind most of their corn. The third, they obliged the enemy to quit a small redoubt on the right of the gate of Havre.

On the eighth in the morning, they attacked the counterescarp of the hornwork at the gate of Havre; and after half an hour's resistance, lodged themselves on the covert-way, having had only sixty men killed and wounded. They took twelve prisoners, who reported, that the enemy were

surprized, and did not expect to be attacked at that time; for otherwise three hundred men had been appointed for the defence of that post, who were to be supported by two hundred Bavarians. The besiegers, however, perfected their approaches at both attacks, and lodged themselves on the covert-way of the hornwork at the gate of Bertamont. The seventeenth in the morning, four hundred grenadiers, sustained by five hundred fusiliers, with seven hundred workmen, attacked the second counterscarp of the hornwork at the gate of Havre; and the enemy, after a very short resistance, quitted the counterscarp and covert-way. The besiegers made a lodgment on them, which they afterwards perfected. The face of the hornwork at the attack of Bertamont having been battered till the sixteenth, the breach there, and likewise in the ravelin, were judged practicable. The next day, at seven in the morning, an attack there began with a great discharge of bombs and grenades; whereby the enemy in the works were so much annoyed, that when the assailants had mounted the breach, they found, to their great surprise, that the besieged had quitted both the ravelin and the hornwork.

On the nineteenth, in the morning, the batteries began to fire upon the face of the hornwork, at the gate of Havre, and continued to do so with success till the twentieth about noon, when the breaches were almost practicable, and the besiegers making preparations for an attack, they were prevented by the enemy's beating a parley, and hanging out white flags at both attacks, to signify their desire to capitulate. Hostages were accordingly exchanged, and those of the enemy, having dined with the Prince of Nassau near the Bertamont attack, came in the afternoon to the Duke of Marlborough's quarters, delivered in their proposals, and returned into the town about eight with the answer of his grace and prince Eugene. They came out again the next morning, and, after some debates, it was agreed, that the

gate of Nimi should be delivered to the allies, as it was in the evening; and that the garrison should march out on the twenty-third; the French to be conducted to Maubeuge, and the Spanish and Bavarian troops to Naum. The proposals made by the besieged consisted of twenty-two articles, which contained in general the usual demands made by garrisons on the like occasions. They desired eight days time to expect relief; which was refused. They likewise desired the usual marks of honour, with twenty charges for every soldier, ten pieces of cannon and four mortars, with ammunition for twelve charges; but the cannon and mortars were refused them, and only six charges allowed to each man. They were obliged to leave hostages for the debts of the garrison, and other pretensions of the town. The articles were signed at prince Eugene's quarters, by his serene highness, the Duke of Marlborough, the deputies of the states, and the governor of the town.

On the first of March, a peace, consisting of thirty-six articles, was concluded between France and Great Britain, and queen Anne died on the first of August, 1714.

King George the first made his public entry into London on the twentieth of September. John Erskine, earl of Mar, the late secretary of state for Scotland, with several Scotch noblemen and gentlemen, assembled at the Brae of Mar, under a pretence of a hunting match, when it is usual for the clans to attend their chiefs. They declared the pretender, on the sixth of September, 1715, and proclaimed him king by the name of James, the eighth. Their number soon increased to twelve thousand men; and the Earl of Mar, as lieutenant-general to the pretender, was their commander, who posted himself at Perth, while another party was forming in England. These highlanders were the only people in Europe that preserved the antient military dress of the Romans, with the target: besides this dress, they had the courage of the ancient Romans, and only wanted their dis-

discipline to make them a formidable people; but with their native courage alone, they twice shook the throne of Great Britain, in two violent attempts which they made for the pretender.

The chiefs of the suspected clans were summoned to appear at Edinburgh, and those who refused to obey were to be declared rebels, pursuant to an act of parliament passed on the thirtieth of August. The court was now fully informed, that the rebellion in Scotland was to be supported by a conspiracy in England; and general Whetham was ordered to form a camp near Stirling, as the Earl of Mar was hereditary governor of that castle, which commanded the passes between north and south Scotland, or the Highlands from the Lowlands: but the Duke of Argyle soon afterwards took upon him the command of all the forces in Scotland.

The Duke of Monmouth had begun this fatal expedition in the west of England, which made it rumoured, that an invasion was to be made in that part of the kingdom. If such an attempt was ever intended, it was seasonably prevented by securing Bristol and Plymouth: but it was in the north that the storm arose in England. The Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, knight of the shire for Northumberland, assembled their friends in that county in October; and Forster not only assumed the character of general for the pretender, but personally declared him king at Warkworth, and greatly increased his number at Morpeth; but was prevented from entering Newcastle, where lieutenant-general Carpenter was with four regiments to oppose the rebels.

Lord viscount Kenmure headed some noblemen, and others, in the west of Scotland, and declared the pretender at Moffat in Annandale, at the same time that he was proclaimed by Forster in Northumberland; and while the Earl of Mar was increasing his number at Perth: so that there

were now three numerous bodies of men in open rebellion; and Kenmure joined Forster on the borders of Scotland, where they expected a re-inforcement from their head commander the Earl of Mar.

Brigadier Mackintosh, laird of Marlum, with one thousand five hundred highlanders, crossed the Forth in open boats from Fife to Lothian, which was a bold attempt, as that arm of the sea was seventeen miles over, and guarded by three men of war. The Duke of Argyle saved Edinburgh from falling into their hands, dislodged them from Leith, and alarmed them at Preston-Pans; while the Earl of Sutherland was at the head of the well-affected northern clans, and the Earl of Seaforth opposed him with disaffected clans.

There were there three bodies of royal troops, as well as three bodies of the rebels; but Mackintosh joined Kenmure and Forster at Kelfo, where they proclaimed the pretender; though the lower country synods expressed great loyalty to king George.

Associations were formed in England for the king, and no disturbance happened in Ireland, from whence some regiments were sent to Chester, and six thousand men from Holland. Mackintosh, Kenmure, and Forster, marched towards Carlisle, but were deserted by five hundred highlanders. Forster had the chief command while they were in England, and marched to Preston in Lancashire without interruption. General Carpenter could not overtake them from Newcastle; but general Wills came up with them at the head of six regiments of dragoons, and one regiment of foot, on the twelfth of November, as they were posted at Preston. The rebels were surprised, and left the pass over the Ribble open; but made the best preparations for their defence in the town. They bravely defended themselves till the next day, when general Carpenter joined general Wills with three regiments of dragoons, and entirely sur-

ounded the town. The Scots were for cutting their way through the dragoons; but Forster submitted, and delivered up all his men prisoners at discretion; though he knew they would be treated as rebels. Thus the Scots, after fatally marching into England, as they had done in 1648, were attacked and defeated in that very town where the Duke of Hamilton was defeated by Oliver Cromwell: with this difference, that the English were then deserted by the Scots, and the Scots were now deserted by the English.

The royal troops triumphantly entered the town, and disarmed the submissive rebels. The royalists had only three officers, and thirty-seven men killed, with thirteen officers, and eighty-nine men wounded. The rebels lost some men, and others escaped; but one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine were made prisoners; of whom four hundred and sixty-seven were English, and one thousand and twenty-two were Scots. The English noblemen and gentlemen who surrendered were seventy-five; the principal of whom were Mr. Forster the general, the Earl of Derwentwater, lord Widdrington, Mr. Echard Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, Mr. Charles Ratcliffe, brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, Charles and Peregrine, brothers of lord Widdrington, Sir Francis Anderton, Richard Townly, and colonel Oxburgh. Among the Scots were brigadier Mackintosh; the earls of Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Carnwarth; viscount Kenmure, lord Nairn, lord Charles Murray, the master of Nairn, and colonel Stuart.

The same day that the rebels under Forster agreed to surrender at Preston, those under the Earl of Mar were joined by the Earl of Seaforth, with his northern clans, and intended to march into England; which the Duke of Argyll was resolved to prevent, and intercept their march at Dumblain, where the rebels attacked him on the thirteenth of November in the morning. The duke had three thousand five hundred men, of whom one thousand two hundred

were dragoons; and he was assisted by the generals Whetham and Wightman. The Earl of Mar had nine thousand men; of which only five hundred were horse. The highlanders pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, committed great execution with their broad-swords, and routed the left wing of the royalists, who were deserted by Whetham; but the Duke of Argyle, at the head of his right wing, put the left of the rebels to flight; and it was a kind of drawn battle, where both sides claimed the victory. The royalists had two hundred and ninety men killed and wounded; besides prisoners, among whom were lord Strathallan, the lairds Barrowfield, Logie, and Drummond, colonel Mackenzie, and lord Strathallan's brother: but the Earl of Strathmore, and Clanroland, who commanded all the clans, were among the slain.

Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, took Inverness for the king; which was a great loss to the rebels. Six thousand of the Dutch troops arrived at Edinburgh under general Cadogan: and the pretender landed at Peterhead, on the twenty-second of December, on board a sloop from Dunkirk, attended only with six persons of his retinue. He was conducted to Fetteresse, by his principal adherents, where he was proclaimed, and assumed all the state of royalty, as king Charles the second had done in 1651.

The pretender had his court at Scoon, and his headquarters at Perth; but the rebel chiefs found it was now impossible to resist the royal forces, and privately determined to abandon the whole enterprize. They burnt several villages to distress the Duke of Argyle in his march, who proceeded towards the rebels in January, and obliged them to abandon Perth; from whence they retired to Montrose, where the pretender privately made his escape on board a French ship, and returned to France, as he had done in 1708. Thus the rebels were deserted by their pretended king, who abandoned them to their own fate, and took

with him some of the principal persons, particularly the Earls of Mar and Melfort; lord Drummond, and general Buckley, who arrived safe at Graveline. The rebel army was left under the command of general Gordon, who led them into the mountains, where they dispersed themselves. Many of the better sort escaped abroad, and few were taken; though the Duke of Argyle pursued them by land, and the British cruisers were watchful at sea; but general Cadogan secured the chiefs, and disarmed their dependents.

This formidable opposition was now entirely suppressed; and it would have been happy for Scotland if it had never been renewed. It remains for the criminals to answer the law, and atone for their crimes by their blood. The principal prisoners were ignominiously brought to London, where the lords were sent to the tower, and the others to Newgate, the Marshalsea, and the Fleet; but the common sort were confined at Chester, and other country prisons.

The triennial-act was repealed, on account of this rebellion, and to preserve the security of the government from the danger of a popish faction. James earl of Derwentwater, and lord Widdrington; the earls of Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Carnwarth; viscount Kenmure, and lord Nairn, were impeached by the commons: and the Earl of Mar, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl of Linlithgow, and lord Drummond, were attainted. Six of the impeached lords pleaded guilty to the articles of impeachment on the nineteenth of January, at the bar of the house of lords, and, on the ninth of February, had sentence, as in the cases of high-treason, pronounced against them, in the court erected in Westminster-Hall, by lord chancellor Cowper, who acted as lord high-steward on that occasion. Great interest was made with the king, and both houses of parliament, for mercy; which was only extended to the lords Widdrington, Carnwarth, and Nairn. The other three were ordered for execution; but lord Nithisdale escaped out of

the Tower in woman's apparel; and the lords Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-Hill, on the twenty-fourth of February. The Earl of Derwentwater declared himself a Roman catholic; he said, he had made bold with his loyalty in pleading guilty; and that some means had been proposed to him for saving his life, which he looked upon as inconsistent with honour and conscience, and therefore he rejected them; as he preferred any death to the doing a base and unworthy action. He struck the spectators with admiration at his noble and decent behaviour; and his head was cut off at one blow. Lord Kenmure prayed for the pretender, and was attended by two clergymen of the church of England: he made no speech, and the executioner cut off his head at two blows.

The Earl of Derwentwater had been personally acquainted with the pretender, and was related to him; for Francis Ratcliffe earl of Derwentwater married Mary Tudor, one of the natural daughters of king Charles the second. His death proved the ruin of the most flourishing family in that part of Britain: he possessed a great estate, and was universally beloved: so that he died greatly lamented, especially by the Jacobites, who looked upon him as the whigs had formerly done upon lord Ruffel; and his brother, who escaped at this time, was also beheaded in the same place in 1746.

The Earl of Wintoun was condemned in March; but escaped out of the Tower in August. Mr. Forster, brigadier Mackintosh and his son, Mr. Ratcliffe, and eight others, escaped out of Newgate: but many others in London were brought to justice, by a temporary law, to prevent the formality of sending them into Lancashire to be tried. Major Nairn, and three other rebel officers, who had been on half-pay under the government, were tried by a court-martial at Preston, and shot to death. Three judges were sent to try the rebels at Liverpool, where a great number were

found guilty, and fourteen were executed at Preston, six at Wigan, and seven at Manchester: but about one thousand submitted to the royal mercy, and petitioned for transportation, which was granted, and they were shipped for America. The judges in Westminster-Hall condemned fourteen rebels, thirteen pleaded guilty, and four were acquitted: but only four were executed.

The Marquis of Huntley, eldest son of the duke of Gordon, lord Rollo, and some other rebels were committed to the castle of Edinburgh, but none of them suffered; though thirteen of the Dutch officers, who had deserted to the pretender, were hanged in effigy.

The rebellion was concluded by an act of grace and free pardon; from which the clan of Macgregor were excepted. The prison-doors were set open all over the kingdom, and some hundreds of the rebels were released; but all their estates were forfeited.

In 1727, his majesty set out for his German dominions, but was seized upon the road with a fit of the apoplexy, and died at Osnaburg, on the eleventh of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

King George II. was proclaimed at London on the sixteenth of June, and he and his queen were crowned on the eleventh of October at Westminster. War was declared against Spain on the seventeenth of November, 1739, and peace was not concluded till the nineteenth of October, 1748. Admiral Vernon took Porto Bello, with six ships only. He was afterwards joined by general Wentworth; but as they could not both agree in their sentiments, the expeditions to Carthagen, Cuba, St. Jago, and Panama, miscarried. Lord Anson carried the war into the South Sea. The Earl of Stair was sent with sixteen thousand British troops to Flanders, where he was joined by the Austrians and Hanoverians, and their army amounted to forty thousand. Marshal Noailles commanded a much superior

army of French troops on the other side of the Maine, and blocked up the allies between that river and a mountain. The allies were joined by his Britannick majesty and the Duke of Cumberland. The situation they were in obliged them to make a most advantageous march, which was absolutely necessary. This brought on the battle of Dettingen.

The marshal duke de Noailles, who commanded the army against the king of England, had bore arms since he was fifteen years of age: he had also commanded in Catalonia, and passed through all the offices that can be served under a government. He had the direction of the finances at the beginning of the regency. Thus he was a general, and a minister of state; and in all these employments he had constantly cultivated polite learning; an example formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but very little followed at present in Europe. This general, by a particular operation, gained a superiority in the field. He kept along-side the king of England's army, who had the Maine between him and the French; and he cut off their provisions, by making himself master of all the passages both above and below their camp.

The king of England's head quarters were at Aschaffenburg, a town belonging to the elector of Mentz. He had taken this step contrary to the opinion of his general, the Earl of Stair, which he had reason to repent; for his army was now blocked up, and almost starved by marshal Noailles; and the soldiers were reduced to half-allowance. The king found himself, at length, under a necessity of retreating, in order to seek provisions at Hanau, in the road to Francfort; but, in his retreat, he was exposed to the batteries of the enemy's cannon, which were erected along the banks of the Maine. Thus he was obliged to make a precipitate march with an army weakened by want, and whose rear might be cut off by the French; for marshal Noailles had the precau-

sign, to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Offenbourg, on the road to Hanau; and to the mistakes already committed, the English added this, of letting them erect those bridges. The twenty-sixth of June, in the middle of the night, the king of England gave orders for his army to decamp without beat of drum, when he ventured upon this precipitate and dangerous, but necessary march. Count Noailles, who encamped along the Maine, was the first that perceived it, and immediately sent word to his father. The marshal rose, and saw the English on their march, in this dangerous road betwixt a mountain and a river. Upon which he instantly ordered thirty squadrons, composed of the king's household, of the dragoons, and hussars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the English were to pass; and he caused four brigades of infantry, with that of the French guards, to march over two bridges. These troops had particular directions to remain posted in the village of Dettingen, on this side of a hollow way, where they were not perceived by the English, while the marshal saw every step the enemy took. M. de Valiere, lieutenant-general, a person who had carried the service of the artillery as far as it could go, held the enemy thus in a defile between the two batteries, which kept playing upon them from the opposite bank. They were to pass through a hollow way between Dettingen and a little rivulet; the French were not to fall upon them but with undoubted advantage in the situation of the ground; so that a snare was laid for them, and the king of England himself was in danger of being taken. In short, this was one of those critical moments which might have put an end to the war.

The marshal recommended to his nephew, the duke of Grammont, lieutenant-general, and colonel of the guards, to wait in this position till the enemy fell into his hands. In

the mean time he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to advance some more cavalry, and the better to discover the situation of the enemy. Most of the officers said, that it would have been better if he had continued at the head of his army, to enforce his orders, and make himself obeyed; but had the day proved fortunate, this mistake would not have been laid to his charge. Be that as it may, he sent five brigades to take possession of the post of Aschaffenburg; so that the English were hemmed in on every side.

All these measures were disconcerted by one single moment of impatience. The Duke of Grammont thought that the enemy's first column had passed, and that he had only to fall upon a rear-guard, incapable of making any resistance: with this view, he made his troops pass the hollow way. The duke de Chevreuse represented to him the danger of this unseasonable courage; and the count de Noailles earnestly desired him to wait for his father's return. The Duke of Grammont, whose motions were now perceived by the English, thought he ought not to turn back: he therefore quitted the advantageous situation, where he should have remained, and advanced, with the regiment of guards, and Noailles's regiment of foot, into a small plain called the Cock-Pit. The English, who were filing off in order of battle, soon formed. Their whole army consisted of fifty thousand men; to oppose whom there were only thirty squadrons, and five brigades of infantry. By this step the French, who had laid a snare for the enemy, fell into it themselves; they attacked the English in great disorder, and with unequal forces. The batteries which M. de Valiere had erected along the Maine, raked the enemy in flank, and especially the Hanoverians: but these had their batteries also, which fired against the front of the French troops. The advantage of cannon, so considerable a thing in an engagement, did not last long; for the artillery on the banks of the Maine was soon prevented from

being, because, in the confusion, it must have annoyed the French themselves. The marshal returned at the very moment this mistake had been committed; but it was too late to remedy it; and all he had now to depend upon was the ardour and bravery of the troops.

At the very first onset, the king's household troops, and the carabineers broke through two whole lines of the enemy's cavalry; but those lines immediately closed, and surrounded the French. The officers of the regiment of guards marched on boldly at the head of a very inconsiderable body of infantry; one and twenty of those officers were killed on the spot, as many dangerously wounded, and the regiment of guards was entirely routed.

The Duke of Chartres, the Prince of Clermont, the count d'Eu, the duke de Penthièvre, notwithstanding his great youth, exerted all their endeavours to put a stop to the disorder. Count Noailles had two horses killed under him; and his brother, the duke d'Ayen, was thrown to the ground.

The marquis of Puisegur, son of the marshal of that name, spoke to the soldiers of his regiment, ran after them, rallied all he could, and, with his own hand, killed some who would not fight any longer, but cried out, "Save himself who can." The princes and dukes of Biron, Luxembourg, Boufflers, Chevreuse, Piquigny, put themselves at the head of the brigades they met with, and plunged into the enemy's lines.

On the other hand, the king's household troops, and the carabineers were not dismayed: here one might see a company of guards, and two hundred musqueteers; there a few companies of cavalry advancing with the light horse; with others following the carabineers, or horse-grenadiers, and riding full gallop upon the English, with more bravery than discipline. And indeed there was so little order observed, that about fifty musqueteers, transported by their courage,

forced their way through a regiment of horse called the Scotch Greys, a corps renowned in England, and composed of all picked men, extremely well mounted. We may imagine what could fifty young men do, mounted on middling horses, against a body so superior in number. They were almost all killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; the marquis of Fenelon's son was taken in the very last rank of the regiment of Greys. Seven and twenty officers of the king's household troops perished in this battle, and sixty-six were dangerously wounded. The count de la Motte-Houdancourt, first gentleman-usher to the queen, had his horse killed under him, was a long time trode under foot by the horses, and carried off almost dead. The marquis de Gontaud had his arm broken; the duke de Rochechouart, first lord of the chamber, having been twice wounded, and still continuing to fight, was killed on the spot. The marquisses de Sabran and de Fleury, the count d'Estrade, and the count de Roostaing, were among the number of the slain.

Amidst all the singularities of this fatal day, we ought not to omit the death of a Count of Boufflers, of the branch of Remiencourt. This was only a child of ten years and a half old, whose leg was shattered by a cannon-ball; he received the wound, saw his leg cut off, and died with equal undauntedness. So much youth, with such courage, drew tears from all the spectators.

The loss was very near as great among the English officers. The king of England fought on foot and on horseback; sometimes at the head of his cavalry, and sometimes at the head of his infantry. The Duke of Cumberland was wounded in the leg; the Duke of Aremberg, who commanded the Austrians, was wounded by a musket-ball on the upper part of his breast; and the English lost some general officers. The battle lasted three hours; but the terms were very unequal; courage alone was engaged against valour, number, and discipline. At length marshal Noailles

ordered a retreat; which was accordingly made, though not without some confusion. The king of England dined on the field of battle; from whence he afterwards retired, without giving time to his troops to carry off all his wounded. About six hundred of them were left behind, whom my lord Stair recommended to the generosity of Marshal Noailles. The French treated them as their own countrymen. These two nations behaved to each other with humanity and respect: whereas the Hungarians, a less civilized people, had shewn, during the whole course of this war, a spirit of barbarity and rapine.

Letters passed between the two generals, which are a convincing proof how far politeness and humanity may be carried amidst the horrors of war. My lord Stair wrote from Hanau to the marshal, the thirtieth of June, these very words, "I have sent back all the French prisoners that I had any knowledge of, and have given orders, that those who are in the hands of the Hanoverians shall be released. Give me leave to return you my thanks for your generous behaviour, which is entirely agreeable to the sentiments I have always professed to entertain for the Duke of Noailles. I am obliged to you, Sir, for the care you have so generously taken of our wounded."

This greatness of mind was not particular to the Earl of Stair and the duke of Noailles: the Duke of Cumberland did also an act of generosity which deserves to be transmitted to posterity; a musqueteer, named Girardeau, who had been dangerously wounded, was brought near the duke's tent; they wanted surgeons, and those they had were extremely busy. At this very instant they were going to dress the duke, who had been wounded in the calf of his leg by a musket-ball; "Begin," said the prince, "with dressing that French officer's wound; he is more hurt than I; perhaps he may want assistance, which cannot be my case." In other respects the loss was pretty equal in both armies. On

the side of the allies there were two thousand two hundred and thirty-one killed and wounded. This was the calculation given by the English, who seldom diminish their own loss, or exaggerate that of their enemy.

Marshall Saxe sat down before Tournay, and invested it on the twenty-fifth of April; while the allied army of English, Austrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the strongest place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel were one of Vauban's master-pieces; for there was not a place of any strength in Flanders, whose fortifications had not been built by Lewis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not so much because their town is part of the ancient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage; they preferred the French magnificence, which enriches a country, to the Dutch oeconomy, which keeps it low. But the inclination of the inhabitants is seldom minded in fortified towns: they are no way concerned either in the attack or defence of those places; they are transferred from one sovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them without asking their advice.

In the beginning of the siege of Tournay, happened one of those events, where the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared, as it were, in the most conspicuous characters. The count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron; here a cavalier was erected, near which they had placed a cask of gun-powder. In the night the duke de Biron lay himself down upon a bear-skin near M. de Talleyrand, when he recollected, that he had promised to spend part of the night with M. de Meuze. He resolves to go, notwithstanding that M. de Talleyrand does all he can to dissuade him. No sooner was he gone, than a soldier, trying the prime of his fusil, lets a

spark fall upon a cask of gun-powder; instantly the cavalier flies up into the air, and M. de Talleyrand is blown up, with twenty-four soldiers, whose limbs, quite torn and shattered, are dispersed on every side: part of the body of M. de Talleyrand was thrown to the distance of above thirty fathoms. But an accident of this kind, though never so fatal, is confounded, in time of war, in the multitude of human calamities, which, from our being too much surrounded by them, escape our attention. The garrison of Tournay, beholding this unlucky accident, insulted the French, reviling them with the most injurious language. Upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, answered them not by opprobrious speeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attacking it were not yet finished: they descend without order, without preparation, or even without officers, upon the covert-way, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy's artillery and their small shot, and maintain themselves boldly till the round came by, though exposed on every side. The duke de Biron, who commanded the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation, and the ardour of the troops rendered, in some measure, excusable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epaulements, and lodges those brave fellows on the covert-way, which they so resolutely carried.

As soon as the states-generals were informed that Tournay was in danger, they sent word to the commander of their troops, that he must venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithstanding the circumspection of these republicans, they were the first of the allies, at that time, who took vigorous resolutions.

The fifth of May the enemy advanced to Cambron, within seven leagues of Tournay. The king set out the sixth from Paris, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aid-de-camps, and the dauphin by his minions.

The inhabitants of Paris, who had been so near losing their king the foregoing year, felt a return of their pain, upon seeing both the father and the son set out for Flanders, to expose themselves to the uncertain issue of a battle. The French had made no entrenchments as yet before Tournay, in the lines of circumvallation; they had no army of observation; nor were the twenty battalions and forty squadrons, which had been draughted from the army, commanded by the Prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But, notwithstanding the uneasiness they were under at Paris, it must be allowed, that the king's army was considerably superior to that of the allies. In several printed relations it is said to have been weaker. Historical exactness obliges me to acknowledge, that it was stronger by sixty battalions, and eighty-two squadrons. For the French had a hundred and six battalions, reckoning the militia, and a hundred and seventy-two squadrons; whereas, the allies had only forty-six battalions and ninety squadrons.

True it is, that on the day of engagement, the French did not avail themselves entirely of this advantage. Part of the troops were not yet arrived, there was also a necessity for leaving some to guard the trenches of Tournay, and for the bridges of communication: but still the superiority of numbers was certainly on the side of France. And it is not less true, that this advantage was not of any consequence in so confined a ground as that of the field of battle; besides, it happens very seldom, that victory is owing to numbers. The chief strength of the enemy's army consisted in twenty battalions, and twenty-six squadrons of English, under the young Duke of Cumberland, who, in company with the king his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The English were joined by five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverian troops. The Prince of Waldeck, of the same age very near as the Duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardour, and impatient to signalize himself, was at the head

of the Dutch forces, consisting of forty squadrons and twenty-six battalions. In this army the Austrians had only eight squadrons. The allies were fighting their cause in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treasure of England and Holland. But at the head of this small body of Austrians was old general Nonigseg, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and in Germany: It was intended, that his years and experience should be a check to the youthful ardour of the Duke of Cumberland, and of prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upwards of fifty thousand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, who were posted at gradual distances from the field of battle; besides six thousand to guard the bridges on the Scheld, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general in whom they had the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his constant study, even in time of peace: besides a profound theory, he had great practical knowledge; in short, vigilance, secrecy, the art of knowing properly when to postpone, and when to execute a project; to see things at one glance; presence of mind and foresight, were abilities allowed him by the consent of all military people. But, at that time, this general was wasting away with a lingering disorder, and almost at death's door when he left Paris. The author of these memoirs happening to meet him before he set out for Flanders, could not forbear asking him how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition? The marshal answered, "It is not time now to think of living, but of departing."

The sixth of May the king arrived at Doway. Just as he was going to bed, he received a courier from the marshal, who informed him, that the enemy's army was approaching, and that they should be quickly in sight of each other. "Gentlemen," said the king to his aid-de-camps,

and to his officers, "there shall be no time lost; I set out to-morrow morning at five o'clock; but do not disturb the dauphin."

The next day the king arrived at Point-a-Chin, near the Scheld, within reach of the trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who had been apprised, was there in time; and attended the king, when he went to reconnoitre the ground designed for the field of battle. The whole army, upon seeing the king and the dauphin, made the air resound with acclamations of joy. The enemy spent the tenth, and the night of the eleventh, in making their last dispositions. Never did the king express greater cheerfulness than the evening before the engagement. The conversation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been present. The king said, that, since the battle of Poitiers, never a king of France had his son with him in the engagement; that none of them had ever gained a signal victory over the English; and he hoped to be the first.

The day the battle was fought he waked the first: at four o'clock he himself awakened count d'Argenson, secretary at war, who that very instant sent to Marshal Saxe to know his last orders. They found the marshal in a wicker vehicle, which served him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his strength came to be so exhausted, that he could no longer ride on horseback. The king and the dauphin had already passed the bridge of Calonne. The marshal told the officer sent by count d'Argenson, that the king's guards must come forward, for he had fixed their post in the reserve, with the carabineers, as a sure resource. This was a new method of posting troops whom the enemy consider as the flower of an army. But he added, that the guards should not be ordered to advance till the king and the dauphin had repassed the bridge. The marshal, as a foreigner, was very sensible how much less it became him than any other general, to expose two such precious lives to the uncertain if

due of a battle. The officer, to whom he had made these answers, was loth to repeat them to the king; but this prince, apprised of the marshal's directions, said, "Let my guards advance this very moment; for I will not repass the bridge." Soon after, he went and took post beyond the place called, The Justice of our Lady in the Wood. For his guard he would have only a squadron of a hundred and twenty men of the company of Charot, one gendarm, a light-horseman, and a musketeer. Marshal Noailles kept near his majesty, as did also count d'Argenson. The aid-de-camps were the same as the preceding year. The duke de Villeroy was also about his person, as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his minions near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinue, which composed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of persons of all ranks, whom curiosity had brought to this place, some of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees, to behold the spectacle of a bloody engagement.

The assistance of engraving is absolutely necessary to a person that has a mind to form to himself a clear and distinct image of this action. The ancients, who were strangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the situation and motion of their armies: but, to have an adequate knowledge of such a day, researches, still more difficult, are necessary. No one officer can see every thing: a great many behold with eyes of prepossession; and there are some that are very short-sighted. There is a great deal in having consulted the papers of the war-office; and especially in getting instructions from the generals and the aid-de-camps: but it is requisite, moreover, to speak to the commanding officers of the different corps; and to compare their relations, in order to mention only those facts in which they agree.

All these precautions have I taken for the obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of which even

the least particulars must be interesting to the whole nation. Casting an eye upon the plan, you perceive, at one glance, the disposition of the two armies. You see Antoin pretty near the Sheld, within nine hundred fathom of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and dauphin came. The village of Fontenoy is within eight hundred fathom of Antoin; from thence, drawing towards the north, is a piece of ground four hundred and fifty fathom broad, betwixt the wood of Barry and of Fontenoy. In this plan you see the dispositions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them; with what art they prepared against the efforts of the enemy near the Scheld and Antoin, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoy, in those villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which separates Fontenoy from the woods of Barry; and, finally, on the left, towards Ramecroix, where the enemy might advance by fetching the compass of the woods.

The general had made provisions for a victory, and against a defeat. The bridge of Calonne, lined with cannon, strengthened with intrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiss, and three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and of the dauphin, in case of any unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off, at the same time, over the other bridges on the lower Scheld, in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

Notwithstanding all these measures, so well concerted as to support each other without the least clashing, there happened one mistake, which, had it not been rectified, might have occasioned the loss of the day. The evening preceding the battle, the general was told, that there was a hollow way, deep and impracticable, which extended, without discontinuance, from Antoin to Fontenoy, and would secure the army on that side. Weak as he was, he reconnoitred a part of this hollow way himself; and they assured him that the remainder was still more inaccessible. He

made his dispositions accordingly. But this ground, which was very deep near Fontenoy and Antoin, was quite level betwixt these two villages. This circumstance, so trivial in other cases, was here of the utmost consequence; for the army might have been taken in flank. The marshal having been better informed by the quarter-master M. de Cremille, caused three redoubts to be hastily erected in the same spot betwixt the villages. Marshal Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoy to the first redoubt by an earthen redan. The three redoubts were furnished with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four. They were called the Redoubts of Bettens, from being defended by the Swiss regiment of Bettens, with that of Diefbach. Besides these precautions, they had also planted six sixteen pounders on this side the Scheld, to gall the troops that should attack the village of Antoin.

We must particularly observe, that there was a piece of ground, of about four hundred and fifty fathom, which had a great ascent betwixt the woods of Barry and Fontenoy. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect, at the verge of the woods of Barry, a strong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrasures. Here the marquis de Chambona commanded a battalion of the regiment of Eu. The cannon of this redoubt, with those which were planted to the left side of Fontenoy, formed a cross-fire, sufficient, one would imagine, to stop the efforts of the most intrepid enemy.

If the English should have attempted to pass through the woods of Barry, they would have met with another redoubt furnished with cannon; if they made a greater circuit, they had intrenchments to force, and must have been exposed to the fire of two batteries on the high road leading to Leuze. Thus did marshal Saxe, on every side, make the most advantage of the ground.

With respect to the position of the troops, beginning

from the bridge of Vaux, which, after the battle, was called the Bridge of Calonne, there was no one part left naked. The counts de la Marck and de Lorgos, were intrusted with the post of Antoin; where were six battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with six cannon at the head of those regiments,

The marquis du Crillon was posted with his regiment hard by the redoubt nearest Antoin; on the left he had dragoons to support him.

The village of Fontenoy was committed to the care of the count de la Vaugion, who had under him the son of the marquis de Meuze-Choiseul, with the regiment of Dauphin, of which this young man, who is since dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant-general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, close to the village of Fontenoy. On his left was the viscount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Very near upon the same line the general had placed four battalions of French guards, two of Swiss, and the regiment of Courten, on the ground extending from Fontenoy to the wood of Barry.

About two hundred fathom behind them were fifty-two squadrons of horse: the duke d'Harcourt, the count d'Estrees, and the count de Penthievre, were lieutenant-generals of this first line. M. de Clermont-Gallerande, du Chéla, and d'Apcher, commanded the second; and, between these lines of cavalry, in the morning, the general placed the regiments of la Couronne, Hainault, Soissons, and Royal.

On the left was the Irish brigade, under the command of my lord Clare, in a little plain of about one hundred paces. Further on was the regiment of Vaisseaux, of which the marquis de Guerchi was the colonel. Betwixt these brigades were M. de Clermont-Tonnere, and the prince de Pons, of the house of Lorrain, at the head of the brigade of cavalry of Royal Rouffillon.

The king's household, and the carabineers, were in the corps de reserve. This was a new practice of marshal Saxe, recommended by the chevalier Folard, to secrete from the enemy's view those troops which are most famed for bravery, against whom they generally direct the flower of their forces.

These dispositions being all made, or upon the point of being made, in silence they waited for the break of day. At four in the morning, marshal Saxe, attended by his aid-de-camps, and by the principal officers, went to visit all the posts. The Dutch, who were already forming, kept continually firing at these officers; which the marshal perceiving, said, "Gentlemen, there will be occasion for your lives to day." He made them dismount, and walked a long time through this hollow way, of which we have already made mention. The fatigue exhausted his strength, and increased his illness; finding himself grow weaker, he got into his wicker vehicle again, where he rested for some little time. At break of day count d'Argenson went to see whether the artillery of the redoubts and villages was in good order, and whether the field-pieces were all arrived. They were to have a hundred pieces of cannon, and they had only sixty. Here the presence and directions of the minister were necessary. He gave orders for them to bring the forty pieces that were wanting; but in the tumult and hurry, almost unavoidable on such an occasion, they forgot to bring the number of balls which such artillery required. The field-pieces were four pounders, and drawn by soldiers; the cannon in the villages and the redoubts, as also those planted on this side the Scheld, against the Dutch, were from four to sixteen pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordnance were distributed in Antoin, Fontenoy, and the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant-general of artillery.

The enemy had eighty-one cannon, and eight mortars.

Their field-pieces were three-pounders; they were what we used formerly to call Fauconets; their length is about four feet and a half; their ordinary charge is two pounds of powder, and they carry two hundred and fifty fathom at full shot. There were some that carried only balls of a pound and a half. The cannonading began on both sides. Marshal Saxe told marshal Noailles, that here the enemy would stop: he supposed them to have formed a deeper design than they really had, imagining they would do just what he would have done in their place; that they would keep the French army in awe, and in continual alarm; by which means they might retard, and, perhaps, absolutely prevent the taking of Tournay. And indeed they were posted in such a manner, that they could not be attacked with advantage; while, at the same time, they had it in their power constantly to harraßs the besieging army. This was the opinion of the old general Konigseg: but the Duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the English too great, to listen to advice. At the same time they began to cannonade, marshal Noailles was near to Fontenoy, and gave an account to marshal Saxe of the work he had done the beginning of the night, in joining the village of Fontenoy to the first of three redoubts betwixt Fontenoy and Antoin. He acted as his first aid-de-camp, thus sacrificing the jealousy of command to the good of the state, and forgetting his own rank, to yield the precedency to a general who was not only a foreigner, but younger in commission than himself. Marshal Saxe was perfectly sensible of the real value of his magnanimity; and never was there so perfect a harmony betwixt two men, who, from the ordinary weakness of the human heart, should naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the Duke of Grammont came up, when marshal Noailles said to him, "Nephew, we should embrace one another on the day of battle; perhaps we

"shall not see one another again." Accordingly they embraced each other most tenderly; and then marshal Noailles went to give the king an account of the several posts which he had visited.

The Duke of Grammont met count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a very little distance of the first redoubt of the wood of Barry, opposite to an English battery. Here a cannon-ball of three pound weight struck the Duke of Grammont's horse, and covered count Lowendahl with blood: a piece of flesh which flew off with the shot, fell into his boots. "Have a care," says he to the Duke of Grammont, "your horse is killed;" "and I too," answered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was shattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road to Fontenoy, he was dead. The surgeon made a report of it to the king, who cried out with concern, "Ah! we shall lose a great many more to-day."

The cannonading continued on both sides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, without the enemy's seeming to have formed any settled plan. Towards seven, the English encompassed the whole ground of the village of Fontenoy, and attacked it on every side. They flung bombs into it, one of which fell just before marshal Saxe, who was then speaking to count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterwards advanced towards Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well supported. The count de Vauguion, who commanded in Fontenoy, with the young count de Meuze under him, constantly repulsed the English. He had made intrenchments in the village, and enjoined the regiment of Dauphin not to fire but according to his orders. He was well obeyed, for the soldiers did not fire till they were almost muzzle to muzzle, and sure of their mark; at each discharge they made the air resound with *Vive le roi*. The count de la Marck, with the count

de Lorges, in Antoin, employed the Dutch, both horse and foot. The marquis de Chambonas also repulsed the enemy in the several attacks of the redoubt of Eu. The English presented themselves thrice before Fontenoy, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their second attack, almost a whole Dutch squadron was swept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left; from that time the Dutch continued to act but very faintly, and at a distance.

The king was at that time along with the dauphin, near the Justice of our Lady in the Wood, against which the English played very briskly with their cannon; even the small musket-shot reached thus far; a domestic of count d'Argenson having been wounded on the fore-head by a musket-ball, a good way behind the king.

From this position, which was equally distant from the several corps, the king observed every thing with great attention. He was the first that perceived, that, as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoy, and seemed to bend their whole strength on that side, it would be of no use to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Tourraine, towards Ramecroix: he therefore caused Normandy to advance near the Irish, and put Auvergne and Tourraine farther behind. But he did not change this disposition till he had asked the general's advice, intirely solicitous about the success of the day, never presuming on his own opinion, and declaring, that he was come to the army only for his own, and for his son's instruction.

Then he advanced towards the side of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward to make their second attack. The cannon-balls fell round him and the dauphin; and an officer, named M. d'Arbaud, afterwards colonel, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gaiety even in the midst of danger; the king and those about him, finding themselves daubed with the dirt thrown up by this shot,

fell a laughing; the king made them pick up the balls, and said to M. de Chabrier, major of artillery, "Send these balls back to the enemy, I will have nothing belonging to them." He afterwards returned to his former post, and, with surprise, observed, that most of the balls that were then fired towards the wood of Barry, from the English batteries, fell upon the regiment of Royal Rouffillon, which did not make the least movement, whereby he could form any remark either upon its danger or its losses.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what marshal Saxe had foreseen. They kept firing, to no manner of purpose, upon the villages and redoubts. Towards ten the duke took the resolution of forcing his way betwixt the redoubt of the woods of Barry and of Fontenoy. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to pass, exposed to the cannon of the redoubt; and, on the other side of the hollow way, he had the French army to fight. The enterprize seemed temerarious. The Duke of Cumberland took this resolution, only because an officer, whose name was Ingoldisby, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt of Eu, did not execute his orders. Had he made himself master of that redoubt, he might have easily, and without loss, brought his whole army forward, protected even by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned against the French. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the English advanced through the hollow way. They passed it almost without disordering their ranks, dragging their cannon through the by-ways; they formed upon three lines, pretty close, each of them four deep, advancing betwixt the batteries of cannon, which galled them most terribly, the ground not above four hundred fathom in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were instantly filled up; and the cannon, which they brought up against Fontenoy and the redoubts, answered the French artillery. Thus they

marched boldly on, preceded by six field-pieces, with six more in the middle of their lines.

Opposite to them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss guards at their left, the regiment of Courten to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubeterre, and farther on the king's regiment, which lined Fontenoy the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were posted, to where the English were forming, it was a rising ground.

The officers of the French guards said to one another, "We must go and take the English cannon." Accordingly they ascended soon to the top with their grenadiers; but when they got there, great was their surprise to find a whole army before them. The enemy's cannon and small shot brought very near sixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were obliged to return to their ranks.

In the mean time the English advanced; and this line of infantry, composed of the French and Swiss guards and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king's, drew near the enemy. The regiment of English guards was at the distance of fifty paces. Campbell's and the royal Scots were the first: M. Campbell was their lieutenant-general, my lord Albemarle their major-general, and Mr. Churchill, a natural son of the famous Duke of Marlborough, their brigadeer. The English officers saluted the French by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the Duke de Biron advanced forward, and returned the compliment. My lord Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, cried out, "Gentlemen of the French guards, give fire."

The count d'Antroche, then lieutenant, and since captain of grenadiers, made answer with a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire first; fire you first." Then the captain said to his men in English, "Fire." The English made a running fire; that is, they fired in divisions, in this manner,

that when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its discharge, and then a third, while the first were loading again. The line of French infantry did not fire; it was single, and four deep, the ranks pretty distant, and not at all supported by any other body of infantry. It was impossible but their eyes must have been surpris'd at the depth of the English corps, and their ears stunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this first discharge: Messieurs de Clifton, de Langey, and de la Peyrere, lost their lives. Ninety-five soldiers were killed upon the spot; two hundred and eighty-five were wounded: eleven Swiss officers were wounded, as also one hundred and forty-five of their common men, and sixty-four were killed. Colonel de Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers dropped down dead; fourteen officers, and two hundred soldiers, were dangerously wounded. The first rank being thus sweep'd away, the other three looked behind them, and, seeing only some cavalry at the distance of above three hundred fathom, they dispers'd. The Duke of Grammont, their colonel, and first lieutenant-general, whose presence would have encouraged them, was dead; and M. de Luttaux, second lieutenant-general, did not come up till they were routed. The English, in the mean time, advanced gradually, as if they were performing their exercise: one might see the majors holding their canes upon the soldiers' muskets to make them fire low and straight.

Thus the English pierc'd beyond Fontenoy and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines, being now straiten'd by the nature of the ground, became a long solid column, unshaken from its weight, and still more so from its courage. It advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre. At the news of this danger, M. de Luttaux made all haste from Fontenoy, where he had been dangerously wounded. His aid-de-camp begged of him to

begin with having his wound dressed. "The king's service," answered M. de Luttaux, "is more dear to me than life." He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, led by the colonel of that name; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds. At this same discharge M. de Biron had a horse killed under him; a hundred soldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, stops the march of the column on its left flank. Upon which the regiment of English guards, detaching itself from the rest, advances some paces towards him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen captains and twelve lieutenants; at the same time two hundred and sixty-six soldiers were killed, and seventy-nine wounded. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itself placed a little behind the king's, presents itself before the English column: but its colonel, the duke d'Havre, the lieutenant-colonel, all the staff-officers, and, in short, thirty-seven officers, are wounded, so as to be obliged to quit the field; and the first rank of the soldiers, to the number of two hundred and sixty, is overthrown.

The regiment of Soissonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and lost a hundred and thirty soldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne, lost more than any other corps at these discharges; six of its officers, one hundred and thirty-six soldiers, were killed; thirty-two officers, and five hundred and nine soldiers, were wounded.

The English, who were advancing towards the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoy in reverse, while they were cannonading it on the other side, and then the battle would have been inevitably lost. The duke de Biron, having placed some grenadiers in this hollow way which lined Fonte-

noy, rallied his regiment, and made a brisk discharge upon the English, which obliged them to halt. One might see the king's regiment, with those of la Couronne and Aubertre, intrenched behind the heaps of their comrades, who were either killed or wounded. In the mean time, two battalions of French and Swiss guards were getting off, by different roads, across the lines of cavalry, which were above two hundred fathom behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Luttaux, first lieutenant-general of the army, who was returning, between Antoin and Fontenoy. "Ah, gentlemen," said he, "do not rally me; I am wounded, and obliged to retire." He died some time after in unspeakable torments. Before he retired, he said to the soldiers he met belonging to the regiment of guards, "My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne." Others hurried through a little bottom which goes from Barry to our Lady in the Wood, up to the very place where the king had taken post, opposite to the wood of Barry, near la Justice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes, towards the redoubt of Eu, and there stood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command; because, though young, he was the oldest captain, the rest having been either killed or wounded.

The English column kept firm and close, and was continually gaining ground. Marshal Saxe, with all the coolness imaginable, seeing how dubious the affair was, sent word to the king by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repass the bridge along with the dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the disorder. "Oh! I am very sure he will do what is proper," answered the king; "but I will stay where I am." This prince was every moment sending his aid-de-camps from brigade to brigade, and from post to post. Each set out with two pa-

begin with having his wound dressed. "The king's service," answered M. de Luttaux, "is more dear to me than life." He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, led by the colonel of that name; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds. At this same discharge M. de Biron had a horse killed under him; a hundred soldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, stops the march of the column on its left flank. Upon which the regiment of English guards, detaching itself from the rest, advances some paces towards him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen captains and twelve lieutenants; at the same time two hundred and sixty-six soldiers were killed, and seventy-nine wounded. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itself placed a little behind the king's, presents itself before the English column: but its colonel, the duke d'Havre, the lieutenant-colonel, all the staff-officers, and, in short, thirty-seven officers, are wounded, so as to be obliged to quit the field; and the first rank of the soldiers, to the number of two hundred and sixty, is overthrown.

The regiment of Soissonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and lost a hundred and thirty soldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne, lost more than any other corps at these discharges; six of its officers, one hundred and thirty-six soldiers, were killed; thirty-two officers, and five hundred and nine soldiers, were wounded.

The English, who were advancing towards the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoy in reverse, while they were cannonading it on the other side, and then the battle would have been inevitably lost. The duke de Biron, having placed some grenadiers in this hollow way which lined Fonte-

noy, rallied his regiment, and made a brisk discharge upon the English, which obliged them to halt. One might see the king's regiment, with those of la Couronne and Aubeterre, intrenched behind the heaps of their comrades, who were either killed or wounded. In the mean time, two battalions of French and Swiss guards were getting off, by different roads, across the lines of cavalry, which were above two hundred fathom behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Luttaux, first lieutenant-general of the army, who was returning, between Antoin and Fontenoy. "Ah, gentlemen," said he, "do not rally me; I am wounded, and obliged to retire." He died some time after in unspeakable torments. Before he retired, he said to the soldiers he met belonging to the regiment of guards, "My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne." Others hurried through a little bottom which goes from Barry to our Lady in the Wood, up to the very place where the king had taken post, opposite to the wood of Barry, near la Justice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes, towards the redoubt of Eu, and there stood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command; because, though young, he was the oldest captain, the rest having been either killed or wounded.

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ges of the stables, whom he sent back successively to the king, and afterwards returned to give an account himself.

The order of battle was no longer the same it had been in the beginning. Of the first line of cavalry not above the half was left. The division of count d'Estrees was near Antoin, under the duke of Harcourt, making head with its dragoons, and with Crillon, against the Dutch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that side, while the English, on the other, were beginning to be victorious. The other half of this first line, which was naturally the Duke of Harcourt's division, remained under the command of the count d'Estrees. This line vigorously attacked the English. M. de Fienne led his regiment, M. de Cernay the Croat, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name. But little did the efforts of this cavalry avail against a solid body of infantry, so compact, so well disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running fire, regularly supported, must, of course, disperse all those small detached bodies which successively presented themselves: besides, it is a known thing, that cavalry alone can very seldom make any impression upon a close and compact infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the midst of this fire. His illness not permitting him to wear a cuirass, he had a kind of buckler, made of several folds of stitched taffeta, which he carried on his saddle bow: he put on his buckler, and rode up with full speed to give directions for the second line of cavalry to advance against the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, composed of the regiment of his name, of which the eldest of the family is always colonel; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the first marshal of the name of Noailles, who raised this regiment at his own expence. The regiment belonging to the duke de Penthièvre made also a part of this brigade. The count de Noailles fell on with great bravery; the marquis de Vignacourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy descendant

of a family which has given three grand masters to the order of Malta, rushes with his squadron to attack this column in flank: but the squadron was cut to pieces in the midst of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troops, who forced their way through with M. de Vignacourt. An English soldier drove his bayonet with such violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fusil: the horse, having received several wounds, ran away with his master; while the butt-end of the musket, trailing on the ground, widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little while after. Out of fourteen troopers, who had broke through the column, six remained, who were soon made prisoners; but the English sent them back the next day, out of regard to their bravery.

The count d'Argenson, son of the secretary at war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berry, at the same time that the regiment of Fiennes was also advancing. He came on to the attack three times at the head of a single squadron; and, upon a false report, his father thought him killed. The count de Biron, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Chabillant, headed and rallied their troopers; but all these corps were repulsed one after another. The count de Clermont-Tonnere, master-de-camp of the cavalry, the count d'Estrees, and the marquis de Croffi, were every where: all the general officers kept riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel-general, and Fiennes, with the Croats, suffered greatly. That of prince Clermont was still more roughly handled, twenty-two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve. All the staff-officers were in motion. M. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puisegur, Messieurs de Saint Sauveur, de Saint Georges de Meziers, aid-de-quarter-masters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai,

aid-major-general, received a wound, of which he died a few days after. It was in these attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, a lieutenant-general, (whose name is pronounced d'Ache) had his foot shattered by a ball. Towards the end of the battle he came to give an account to the king, and spoke a long while to his majesty without expressing the least sign of pain, till, at length, the violence of the anguish obliged him to retire.

The more the English advanced, the deeper it became, and, of course, the better able to repair the continual losses which it must have sustained from so many repeated attacks. It still marched on, close and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both sides, seeming to form one single corps of about sixteen thousand men, though it was then in three divisions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in disorder, as far as the very place where the king was posted with his son; so that these two princes were separated by the croud that came tumbling upon them. The king did not change colour; he was concerned, but shewed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to observe about two hundred troopers scattered behind him towards our Lady in the Wood, he said to a light-horse-man, "Go and rally those men in my name, and bring them back." The light-horse-man galloped, and led them back against the enemy. This man, whose name was de Jouy, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the minister enquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this disorder, the brigades of the life-guards, who were in reserve, advanced of themselves against the enemy. Here the chevaliers de Suze and de Saumery were mortally wounded. Four squadrons of gendarms arrived this very instant from Doway; and, notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy; but all these corps were received like

the rest, with the same intrepidity, and the same running fire. The young count de Chivrier, a guidon, was killed; and it happened to be the very same day that he was admitted into his troops. The chevalier de Monaco, son of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced through. M. du Guesclin received a wound on the foot. The carabineers charged the enemy; but had six officers killed, and one and twenty wounded. All these attacks were made without any concert or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which all the bravery in the world is of no manner of use against discipline and order.

Marshal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, was still on horseback, riding gently in the midst of the fire. He passed close under the front of the English column, to observe every thing that passed towards the left, near the wood of Barry. There they were going on in the very same manner as towards the right, endeavouring, but in vain, to throw the column into disorder. The French regiments presented themselves one after another; while the English, facing about on every side, placing properly their cannon, and always firing in divisions, kept up this running and constant fire when they were attacked; after the attack they remained immovable, and ceased to fire. The marshal, perceiving a French regiment at that time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down, while the regiment never stirred, asked what corps that was? they told him it was the regiment de Vaisseaux, commanded by M. du Guerchi; he then cried out, "Admirable indeed!" Two and thirty officers of this regiment were wounded, one third of the soldiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not suffer less: their colonel was the son of the prince de Craon, governor of Tuscany; the father served the enemy, and his son the king. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop; near him the lieutenant-colonel was mortally wound-

ed; nineteen officers of this corps were wounded dangerously, and two hundred and sixty soldiers lay dead upon the spot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced; but they had as many officers and soldiers wounded as that of Hainault: they were headed by their lieutenant-colonel, M. de Solenci, whose bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterwards rewarded, by making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions fell next upon the flank of this column: colonel Dillon was killed, fifty-six officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the spot.

Marshal Saxe then returns by the front of the column, which had advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Eu and of Fontenoy. He goes and sees whether Fontenoy still held out; there they had no more ball, so that they answered the enemy's shot with nothing but gunpowder.

M. de Brocard, lieutenant-general of artillery, and several other officers of the ordnance, were killed. The marshal then desired the duke d'Harcourt, whom he happened to meet, to go and beseech his majesty to remove farther off; at the same time he sent orders to the count de la Marck, who defended Antoin, to quit that post with the regiment of Piedmont. The battle seemed to be past all hopes; they were bringing back their field-pieces from every side, and were just upon the point of removing the artillery of the village of Fontenoy, though a supply of balls was come; they had even begun to send off the train. Marshal Saxe's intention was now to make his last effort against the English column. This enormous mass of infantry had suffered much, though it still seemed to be of the same depth: the soldiers were surprised to find themselves in the middle of the French camp without any cavalry: they continued unshaken, but did not appear to receive further orders: their countenance was bold and undaunted, and

they seemed masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Bettens, and acted vigorously in conjunction with the English, the battle would have been lost beyond all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army, or, in all probability, for the king, and his son. The success of a last attack was dubious. Marshal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an intire defeat, depended upon this attempt, thought of preparing a safe retreat, at the same time that he was doing all that lay in his power to obtain the victory. He sent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, to move towards the bridge of Calonne, in order to favour this retreat, in case of a last disappointment. This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who saw the Dutch ready to take possession of Antoin the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery against his own army. The marshal sent a second order by his aide-camp, M. Daillyorde; it was intimated to the count de Lorgos, who was made answerable for the execution of it; so that he was obliged to obey. At that time they despaired of the success of the day; but the greatest events depend on the most trivial circumstances, on a mistake, on some unexpected stroke.

Those who were near the king must have imagined the battle was lost, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoy, that most of those who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they also wanted ball at the post of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Those who were near the Duke of Cumberland must have had a bad opinion of the day, because they still imagined themselves exposed to the cross fire of Fontenoy, and of the redoubt of Barry. They were ignorant that the French were only firing with powder; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for eva-

cuating Antoin, did not advance; the English horse, which might have compleated the disorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the English column, did not appear; they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoy, or to the redoubt, the fire of which still seemed uniform. Here it will be asked, why the Duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning, since he might have turned the cannon that was there against the French army, which would have secured him the victory? This is the very thing he had endeavoured to effect. At eight o' clock in the morning he ordered brigadier Ingoldsbey to enter the woods of Barry with four regiments, in order to make himself master of that post. The brigadeer obeyed; but perceiving the artillery pointed against him, and several battalions who lay flat on their bellies, he went back for cannon; general Campbell promised him some; but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt; and the cannon was not ready soon enough. Then the Duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing but of losing time, had taken the resolution of passing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt; and this enterprize, which one would imagine must have proved fatal to him, had hitherto succeeded.

They now held a tumultuous kind of council around the king, who was pressed by the general, and in the name of France, not to expose his person any longer. At this very instant arrived the duke de Richlieu, lieutenant-general of the army, who served as aid-de-camp to the king; he was come from reconnoitering the column and Fontenoy; he had charged the enemy with the regiment of Vaisseaux, and with the life-guards; he had also made M. Bellet advance with the gendarms under his command; and these had stopped the column, which now no longer advanced. Having thus rode about and fought on every side without being

wounded, he presents himself quite out of breath, with his sword-in-hand, and all covered with dust; "Well, Resce," says marshal Noailles to him, (this was a familiar expression used by the marshal) "what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion?" "My news," says the duke of Richlieu, "is, that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; and my opinion is, that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear against the front of the column; while this artillery throws it into disorder, the king's household and the other troops will surround it. We must fall upon them like foragers, and I will lay my life that the day is ours." But Fontenoy," said they, "is possessed by the enemy." "I come from thence," said the duke: "it holds out still." "We must see," replied they, "whether the marshal has not designed this cannon for some other use." He answered them. "There is no other use to make of it." He was convinced himself, and he persuaded the rest. The king was the first who approved of this important proposal, and every body else joined in the opinion. He gave orders, therefore, that instantly they should go and bring four pieces of cannon. Twenty rode away directly on that errand; when a captain of the regiment of Touraine, whose name was Ilfards, aged one and twenty, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back; he gave notice thereof directly, and that very evening he had the cross of St. Lewis.

The king charged the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of the Duke de Chaulnes, to go and see those four pieces pointed: they were designed, they said, to cover the retreat. "We shall make no retreat," said the duke de Chaulnes; the king commands that these four pieces contribute to the victory." Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, goes and plants them directly opposite to the column. The duke de Richlieu gallops full speed, in the king's name, to give orders to the king's household to

march: he communicates this news to M. de Montesson, the commanding officer, who is transported with joy, and immediately puts himself at their head. The Prince de Soubise assembles his gendarmes under his command; the duke de Chaulnes does the same with his light-horse; they all draw up in order, and march. The four squadrons of gendarmes advancing at the right of the king's household, the horse grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille, and the musketeers, commanded by M. de Jumillac, rush boldly on. The dauphin was advancing, with sword-in-hand, to put himself at the head of the king's household, but they stopped him, telling him, that his life was too precious: "Mine is not precious," said he; "it is the general's life that is precious on the day of battle."

In this important moment the count d'Eu, and the duke de Biron at the right, beheld, with concern, the troops quitting their post at Antoin, the count de la Marck, their commander, with reluctance obeying: "I will answer," said the duke de Biron, "for his disobedience; I am sure the king will approve of it, now that there is so great a change in our favour; I answer that marshal Saxe will think it right." The marshal coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion. The general having been informed of the king's resolution, and of the good disposition of the troops, readily acquiesced. He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Piedmont return to Antoin; he moved, notwithstanding his weakness, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and towards the Irish brigade; strictly recommending to all the troops that he met upon his way, not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

Whilst he was with the Irish brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl and my lord Clare, the duke de Biron, the count d'Estrees, and marquis de Croisy, were together on the right,

opposite the left flank of the column, upon a rising ground: they perceived the Irish and the regiment of Normandy, who were advancing towards the right flank. "Now it is time," said they to one another, "to march on our side; the English are beaten." M. de Biron puts himself at the head of the king's regiment; those of Aubterre and Courten followed him; and all the rest advance under the count d'Estrees. Five squadrons of Penthièvre's regiment follow M. de Croisy and his children; the squadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Chabillant, Brancas, and Brionne, advanced with their colonels, though they had received no orders; and it seemed as if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richlieu. Never was the king better served than at that very instant: it was the quickest and most unanimous movement. My lord Clare marches up with the Irish: the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, a battalion of Swiss, advancing higher up towards the redoubt of Eu. All these corps moved at the same time; the Irish, commanded by my lord Clare, against the front of the column, the guards higher up, under M. the count de Chabannes, their lieutenant-colonel. They were all separated from the English column by a hollow way; they force through it, firing almost muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the English with their bayonets fixed to their muskets. M. de Bonnafant, at that time first captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterwards the first that jumped upon the covert-way of Tournay, was now the first of his regiment that broke through the column: but the officers of the French guards had already made an impression. The carabineers betwixt the Irish and the king's household were then piercing through the first ranks; they were seen to run about and to rally in the midst of the enemy, when the croud and their impetuosity had disordered their ranks. Unluckily they mistook the Irish, who have near the same uniform

as the English, for English battalions, and fell upon them with great fury. The Irish cried out, *Vive France*, but in the confusion they could not be heard; so that some Irish were killed through mistake.

The four cannon which the Duke of Richlieu had called for, and by the duke de Chaulnes had been levelled within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two discharges, which thinned the ranks, and began to shake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's household advanced towards the front of the column, and threw it into disorder. The cavalry pressed it hard upon the left flank; marshal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the enemy with the breasts of their horses; and he was well obeyed. The count d'Estrees, the young prince de Brionne, killed some of the enemy themselves in the foremost ranks: the officers of the king's chamber charged pell-mell with the guards and musketeers. All the pages were there sword-in-hand; so that the marquis de Tressau, who commanded the brigade of the king's body-guards, said to the king after the battle, "Sire, you sent us pages, whom we took for so many officers."

The duke de Biron at that time held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment, and the brigade de Crillon. He had already sent M. de Boffeul, a first page of the great stable, to tell the king that every thing went well on his side, and that he would undertake to give a good account of the enemy. On the other side, the marquis d'Harcourt, son of the duke of that name, came to acquaint the king, in his father's name, that the troops were rallied on every side, and the victory was sure.

At this very instant arrived the count de Castellane, dispatched by marshal Saxe to inform the king, that the field of battle was recovered. In seven or eight minutes the whole English column was dispersed; general Ponsoby, my lord Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the

guards, and a prodigious number of officers were slain. The English repassed the hollow way betwixt Fontenoy and the redoubt in the greatest disorder; the ground which had been taken up by their column, as well as the hollow way, was strewed with wounded and dead bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoy, because its importance deserved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conquest of the Low Countries, and served as a counterpoise to all disappointments. The presence of the king and his son, and the danger to which these two princes and France were exposed, greatly increased the importance of this ever-memorable day.

Great Britain was once more alarmed with a fresh invasion. The young pretender being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms by the ministry of France, embarked on board of a small frigate at port St. Lazare, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, with a few other Irish and Scottish adventurers: and setting sail on the fourteenth day of July, 1745, was off Belleisle joined by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-six guns, as his convoy. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland; but falling in with the Lion, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued. The Elizabeth was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest; but the Lion was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. Prince Charles in the frigate continued his course to the western isles of Scotland; and landing on the coast of Lochaber, was in a little time joined by a considerable number of hardy mountainers under their respective chiefs or leaders. The young adventurer having assembled about fifteen hundred men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort William; and immediate-

ly hostilities were commenced. A detachment from his main body surpris'd two companies of new-raised foldiers, who, with their officer, were disarmed, after an obstinate dispute; another captain of the king's forces falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the pretender's manifestos, and a passport for his personal safety. The lords of the regency, the king being at Hanover, issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any person who should apprehend the prince adventurer; and a courier was dispatched to Holland to hasten the return of his majesty, who arrived in England about the latter end of August. A requisition was made of the six thousand Dutch auxiliaries; and several British regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal address was presented to the king by the city of London; and the merchants of this metropolis resolved to raise two regiments at their own expence. Orders were issued to keep the trained bands in readiness; to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the same effect were sent to all the lords-lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom: the principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their services to their sovereign, and some of them received commissions to levy regiments toward the suppression of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; associations formed, large contributions raised in different towns, counties, and communities. The whole nation seemed unanimously bent upon opposing the enterprize of the pretender, who, nevertheless, had already made surprising progress. His arrival in Scotland was no sooner confirmed, than Sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what force he could bring together, and advanced against the rebels. Understanding however, that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he changed his route, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverness, leaving the capital and the four

thern parts of North Britain wholly exposed to the incursions of the enemy. They forthwith marched to Perth, where the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great Britain, and the public money seized for his use; the same steps were taken at Dundee, and other places. Here prince Charles was joined by the noblemen who assumed the titles of duke of Perth, the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction, with their followers. The Marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took possession of Athole as heir of blood to the titles and estate which his younger brother enjoyed in consequence of this attainder; and met with some success in arming the tenants for the support of that cause which he avowed. The rebel army being considerably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, which they entered without opposition. The inhabitants were divided by faction and distracted by fear: the place was not in a posture of defence, and the magistrates would not expose the people to the uncertain issue of an assault. The rebels were admitted into the city; and their prince took possession of the royal palace of Holy-rood-house, in the suburbs. Then he caused his father to be proclaimed at the market-cross; and there also the manifesto was read, in which the chevalier de St. George declared his son Charles regent of his dominions, promised to dissolve the union, and to redress the grievances of Scotland. His being in possession of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms, but he missed his aim of seizing the treasure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom, which had been previously conveyed into the castle, a strong fortress, with a good garrison, under the command of general Gueft.

In the mean time Sir John Cope marched back from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops,

and on the sixteenth of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired from the capital at the approach of the Highland army. His troops now amounted to three thousand men, including some Highlanders well-affected to the government, who had offered their services to him at Inverness; and he began his march for Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the twentieth day of the month, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preston-pans, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the sea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young pretender, at the head of about three thousand Highlanders half-armed, who charged him sword-in-hand, with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the king's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled with great precipitation at the first onset. All the infantry was either killed or taken; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh. Not above four-score of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the king's troops were killed on the field of battle; colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, disdained to save his life at the expence of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold. The wounded soldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were sent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their parole. From this victory the pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. He was supplied with a train of field artillery, and a considerable sum of money, and saw himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses. After this battle he was joined by a small detachment from the Highlands; and some chiefs, who had

hitherto been on the reserve, began to exert their influence in his favour. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

He continued to reside in the palace of Holy-rood-house: and made some unsuccessful attempts to cut off the communication between the castle and the city. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. The number of his followers daily increased; and he received considerable supplies of money, artillery, and ammunition, by single ships that arrived from France. The Duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals: twelve hundred men were raised by the Earl of Sutherland; the lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his majesty: Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod sent two thousand hardy islanders from Skie, to strengthen the same interest.

The Earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders. By this time, however, the prince pretender was joined by the Earl of Kilmarnock, the lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvy, Pittligo; and the eldest son of lord Lovat had begun to assemble his father's clan, in order to re-inforce the victorious adventurer, whose army lay encamped by Dalkeith, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. But great dependence was placed upon the power and attachment of lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagement with the chevalier de St. George, though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for the pretender.

Immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith be-

gan their march to the North, under the command of general Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The Duke of Cumberland being now arrived from the Netherlands, was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The county regiments were compleated: the volunteers in different parts of the kingdom employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms. Admiral Vernon commanded a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbour of Dunkirk and Boulogne, and his cruisers took several ships loaded with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the pretender in Scotland.

The young pretender having collected about five thousand men, made an irruption into England by the west border on the sixth day of November. Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered; here he found a considerable quantity of arms, and was proclaimed king of Great Britain. General Wade being apprised of his progress, decamped from Newcastle, and advanced across the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. Here he received intelligence that Carlisle was reduced, and forthwith returned to his former station. In the mean time orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Ligonier. Prince Charles, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, determined to proceed.

Leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the Highland garb, at the head of his forces; and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where on the twentieth day of the month, he established his head quarters, and was joined by about two hundred Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment. His intention was to prose-

gute his march by the way of Chester into Wales, but all the bridges over the river Marshey being broke down, he chose the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle. He passed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and, on the fourth day of December, entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and his father proclaimed with great formality. He had now advanced within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion. Wade lingered in Yorkshire: the Duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the other army assembled in the neighbourhood of Litchfield. He had marched from Stafford to Stone: so that the rebels, in turning off by Ashborne to Derby, had gained a march between him and London.

Orders were now given for forming a camp on Finchley-common, where the king resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the Earl of Stair, field-marshal and commander in chief of the forces in South Britain. The militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march: double watches were posted at the city gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment, the practitioners of the law, headed by the judges: the weavers of Spittlefields, and other communities, engaged in associations.

The young pretender had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf. The Highland chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly: he saw himself with a handful of men hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He therefore called a council at Derby, and, after violent disputes, the majority determined, that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition. Accordingly they abandoned Derby on the

sixth day of December, early in the morning, and marched with such celerity, that on the ninth, their van-guard arrived at Manchester; on the twelfth they entered Preston, and continued their march northwards. The Duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprised of their retreat, detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them: while general Wade began his march from Ferry-bridge into Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route: but at Wakefield he understood that they had already reached Wigan, and therefore he repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached general Oglethorpe with his horse and dragoons to join those who had been sent off from the duke's army. They pursued with such alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished in Lancashire. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed by the duke's order, to harass them in their march. The bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheless, they retreated regularly, with their small train of artillery. They were overtaken at the village of Clifton, in the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. These alighted in order to attack a party of their rear-guard which had thrown themselves into the place, with a view to retard the pursuit. The assailants were roughly handled; and the rebels having accomplished their purpose, retired with the loss of a few individuals, who were either killed or taken. On the nineteenth day of the month the Highland army reached Carlisle, and having re-inforced the garrison of the place, crossed the rivers Eden and Solway in Scotland. The most remarkable circumstance of this expedition was, the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves, in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no but

rage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine.

The duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the twenty-first day of December, and on the thirtieth, the garrison surrendered at discretion.

The duke returned to London, whilst the pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence. He fixed his head quarters at Perth, where he was re-inforced by the Earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and he was accommodated with a small train of artillery. They had found means to surprise a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They took possession of Dundee, Dumblaine, Downcastle, and laid Fife under contribution. The Earl of Loudon remained at Inverness, with about two thousand Highlanders in the service of his majesty. He raised the blockade of Fort Augustus, which the son of lord Lovat had formed: he secured the person of that nobleman, who still temporized, and at length accomplished his escape. The Laird of Macleod, and Mr. Monro of Culcairn, being detached from Inverness, towards Aberdeenshire, were surprised and routed by lord Lewis Gordon at Inverary. Prince Charles, being joined by lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which general Blakeney commanded: but his people were so little used to enterprizes of this kind, that they made very little progress in their operations.

By this time, a considerable body of forces was assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of general Hawley, who resolved to relieve Stirling castle, and advanced to Lin-

lithgow on the thirteenth day of January, 1746: next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels lay encamped at Torwood. On the seventeenth day of the month they were perceived in full march to attack the king's forces, which were formed in order of battle, and advanced to the encounter. The enemy had taken possession of a hill on their right; and Hawley ordered two regiments of dragoons to drive them from that eminence. Their prince, who stood in the front of the line, gave the signal to fire, by waving his cap; and his followers took aim so well, that the assailants were broke by the first volley: they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongst the infantry, which were likewise discomposed by the wind and rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and disturbing their eye-sight. The rebels followed the first blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular discharge, turned their backs and fled, in the utmost consternation. However, general Hulke and brigadier Cholmondeley rallied some regiments, and made a gallant stand, which favoured the retreat of the rest to Falkirk. The king's forces retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels: but their loss of men did not exceed three hundred.

It was judged necessary, that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a general in whom the soldiers might have some confidence; and the Duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose: he therefore began to prepare for his northern expedition. Mean while, the French minister at the Hague, having represented to the states-general that the auxiliaries which they had sent into Great Britain, were part of the garrison of Tournay, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France for a certain term; they thought proper to recal them, rather than come to an open rupture with his most christian majesty; and in

their room six thousand Hessians were transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their Prince, Frederick of Hesse.

The Duke of Cumberland put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and fifteen hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of colonel Campbell. On the last day of January, his royal highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling castle, not only abandoned that enterprize, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation. Their prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted; he hoped to be re-inforced in the Highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain: he therefore retired by Badenoch, towards Inverness, which the Earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him without opposition, and here he fixed his head quarters. The Duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth, with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the Duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

While he remained in this place, refreshing his troops, and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels surprized a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyleshire Highlanders, at Keith, who were cut in pieces. Several advanced parties of that militia met with the same fate in different places. Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire. They likewise undertook the siege of Fort William, under the direction of brigadier Stapleton,

an engineer in the French service; but the place was so vigorously maintained by captain Scot, that, in the beginning of April, they thought proper to relinquish the enterprize. The Earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken post at Dornoch, where his quarters were beat up by a strong detachment of the rebels, commanded by the Duke of Perth; a major and sixty men were taken prisoners, and the earl was obliged to take shelter in the isle of Skye. These little checks were counterbalanced by some advantages which his majesty's arms obtained. The sloop of war which the rebels had surpris'd at Montrose, was retaken at Sutherland, with a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the use of the pretender. In the same county, the Earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuscade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewise defeated a body of rebels at Goldspie.

In the beginning of April, the Duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen; and, on the twelfth pass'd the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a considerable number of them appeared on the other side. His royal highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give battle. On the sixteenth day of April, the duke, having made the proper dispositions, decamp'd from Nairn early in the morning, and, after a march of nine miles, perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of five thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The royal army, which was much more numerous, the duke immediately formed into three lines, dispos'd in excellent order; and about one o' clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little execution; but

that of the king's troops made dreadful havock among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, their front line advanced to the attack, and about five hundred of the clans charged the duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity. One regiment was disordered by the weight of this column; but two battallions advancing from the second line, sustained the first, and soon put a stop to their career, by a severe fire, that killed a great number. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank, and falling in among them sword-in-hand, compleated their confusion. The French piquets on their left did not fire a shot; but stood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the clans marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing: the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their prince was with reluctance prevailed upon to retire. In less than thirty minutes they were totally defeated, and the field covered with the slain. The road, as far as Inverness, was strewn with dead bodies. Twelve hundred rebels were slain on the field, and in the pursuit. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and, in a few days, lord Balmerino surrendered himself to one of the detached parties. The soldiers, provoked by their former disgraces, and not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of the action, traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches that lay maimed and expiring; nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination.

The vanquished adventurer forded the river Ness, and retired with a few horse to Aird, where he conferred with old lord Lovat: then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about a wretched and solitary fugitive among the hills and mountains, for the space of five months; during

which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, as no other person ever outlived.

When the news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was transported with joy, and extolled the Duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on this auspicious event. They decreed, in the most solemn manner, their public thanks to his royal highness, which were transmitted to him by the speakers; and the commons, by bill, added five and twenty thousand pounds per annum to his former revenue.

Immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, the duke took possession of Inverness; where six and thirty deserters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed; and then he detached several parties to ravage the country.

The castle of lord Lovat was destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith; Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his son the lord Macleod, were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons. The Marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the Earl of Dunmore, and Murray, the pretender's secretary, were seized and transported to the Tower of London, to which the Earl of Traquair had been committed on suspicion, and the eldest son of lord Lovat was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. All the goals of Great Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner.

Some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates, that arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannic majesty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board

of a ship on the coast of Buchan; and were conveyed to Norway, from whence they travelled to Sweden.

In the month of May, the Duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort-Augustus, where he encamped, and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword.

Glenary and Lochiel were plundered and burned; every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction; and all the cattle and provision were carried off; the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial; the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was inclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that, in a few days, there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen within the compass of fifty miles; all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

The young pretender was now surrounded by armed troops, that chased him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support, but that which the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he was rowed in fisher-boats from isle to isle, among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers. For some days he appeared in women's attire, and even passed through the midst of his enemies unknown: but, notwithstanding that his disguise was discovered, he assumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths with a matted beard and squalid look, in continual danger of being apprehended, and exposed to cold, hunger, thirst and weariness.

He was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, many of whom were in the lowest paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and, that, by betraying him, they should enjoy wealth and affluence; but they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and ministered to his necessities, with the utmost zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction.

In the course of these peregrinations he was more than once hemmed in by his pursuers, in such a manner as seemed to preclude all possibility of escaping: yet he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection; he still found some expedient that saved him from captivity and death; and, through the whole course of his distresses, maintained the most amazing equanimity and good humour.

At length, a privateer of St. Malo, hired by his adherents, arrived at Lochnanach; and, on the seventeenth day of September, this unfortunate prince embarked in the most wretched attire. He was clad in a short coat of black frize, thread bare, over which was a common Highland plaid, girt round him by a belt, from whence depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifted for many weeks; his shoes and stockings hung in tatters on his legs and feet. His eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities, by Cameron of Lochiel, his brother, and a few other exiles.

They set sail for France, and, after having been chased by two ships of war, arrived in safety at Roscan, near Morlaix, in Bretagne.

The rebellion being quelled, the legislature resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. In June, an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had em-

barked in that desperate undertaking; and courts were opened, in different parts of England, for the trial of the prisoners. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were executed at Kensington-common, in the neighbourhood of London, and suffered, with great constancy, under the dreadful tortures which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death in the same manner at Carlisle; six at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, and eleven at York: a few obtained pardon, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations.

Bills of indictment for high treason were found by the county of Surry against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, the lord-chancellor presiding as lord-high-steward for the occasion.

The two earls confessed their crime, and, in pathetic speeches, recommended themselves to his majesty's mercy.

Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty; he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment: but this exception was over-ruled. Then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his council. He submitted to the court, which pronounced sentence of decapitation upon him and his associates.

Cromartie's life was spared; but the other two were beheaded, in the month of August, 1746, upon Tower-hill.

In November, Mr. Ratcliff, the titular earl of Derwent-water, who had been taken in a ship bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former sentence, passed against him in the year 1716: he refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a subject of France, honoured with a commission in the service of his most christian majesty. The identity of his person being proved, a rule was made for his execution; and, on the eighth day of December, he suffered decapitation, with the most perfect composure and serenity.

Lord Lovat, now turned of fourscore, was impeached by the commons, and tried in Westminster-hall before the lord-high-steward. John Murray, secretary to the prince pretender, and some of his own domestics, appearing against him, he was convicted of high treason and condemned.

Admiral Boscawen, with a powerful fleet of men of war, and several transports, sailed for Halifax, from England, on February the nineteenth, 1758. He had the chief command of the expedition against Louisbourg, and in particular the directions of the naval operations. General Amherst, from whose character great things were expected, and who justified these expectations, was to command the land forces. These amounted to about four thousand men, including some light troops, fitted for the peculiar service of the country. The whole fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty-one ships, set sail from the harbour of Halifax. On the second of June, they appeared before Louisbourg. They were six days on the coast before a landing was found practicable; such a prodigious surf swelled all along the shore, that no boat could possibly live near it. The French, not trusting to this obstacle, had drawn entrenchments in every part where it might be possible to land, supported them with batteries in convenient places, and lined them with a numerous infantry. At length, on June the eighth, the surf, though violent, at best, was observed to be somewhat abated, and the admiral and general did not lose a moment to avail themselves of this first opportunity of landing; they made all their dispositions for it with the highest judgment. They ordered the frigates towards the enemy's right and left to rake them on their flanks. Then the troops were disposed for landing in three divisions. That on the left was commanded by general Wolfe, and was destined to the real attack. The divisions in the center to the right, were only designed for feigned attacks to draw the enemy's attention to all parts, and to distract their defence.

When the fire of the frigates continued about a quarter of an hour, general Wolfe's division moved towards the land; the enemy reserved their shot until the boats were near the shore, and then directed the fire of their whole cannon and musquetry upon them. The surf aided their fire. Many of the boats overfet, many were broken to pieces, the men jumped into the water, some were killed, some drowned; the rest supported and encouraged in all difficulties, by the example, spirit, and conduct of their truly gallant commander, gained the shore, took post, and fell upon the enemy with such order and resolution, that they soon obliged them to fly in confusion. As soon as this post was made good, the center moved towards the left, and the right followed the center, so that the landing was compleated, though not without much time and trouble, in an excellent order, and with little loss.

The operations of a siege are too minute and uninteresting to make a detail of them agreeable to readers, who are not conversant in the military way. The operations against Louisbourg for several days went on very slowly, owing entirely to the prodigious surf and rough weather, which made it extremely difficult to land the artillery, stores, and instruments to be employed in the siege; however, the excellent conduct of the generals Amherst and Wolfe, by degrees overcame all the difficulties of the weather, which was extremely unfavourable, the ground which was rugged in some places and boggy in others, and the resistance of the garrison, which was considerable. The French had five men of war of the line in the harbour, who could bring all their guns to bear upon the approaches of the English troops. The first thing done was to secure a point called the Light-house-battery, from whence they might play upon these vessels, and on the batteries on the other side of the harbour. General Wolfe performed the service with his usual vigour and celerity, and took possession of this and all the

other posts in that quarter on the twelfth. His fire from this post on the twenty-fifth silenced the island battery which was that most immediately opposed to his; but the ships still continued to bear upon him until the twenty-first of the following month, when one of them blew up, and communicating the fire to the two others, they also were in a short time consumed to the water edge. This was a loss not to be repaired; the approaches drew near the covert way, and things were in a good condition for making a lodgment in it; the enemy's fire was considerably slackened: the town was consumed to the ground in many places, and the works had suffered much in all. Yet the enemy still delaying to surrender, gave occasion to add one brave action to the others which had been displayed during the course of this siege. The admiral, who had done all along every thing possible to second the efforts of the land forces, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, resolved on a stroke, which, by being decisive of the possession of the harbour, might make the reduction of the town a matter of little difficulty. He resolved to send a detachment of six hundred seamen in boats, to take or burn the two ships of the line which remained, and if he should succeed in this, he proposed the next day to send in some of his own great ships, who might batter the town on the side of the harbour. This was not more wisely planned by the admiral, then gallantly and successfully executed by captain Laforey. In spite of the fire from the ships and the batteries, on July the twenty-fifth, he made himself master of both these ships, one he towed off, the other, as she ran aground, was set on fire. This stroke, in support of the spirited advances of the land forces, was conclusive. The town surrendered the next day. The garrison were prisoners of war, and amounted, with the irregulars and seamen, to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven. Prince Ferdinand purposing to drive the French troops

from Francfort, which they had illegally seized, and from which they derived no small advantage, as it secured to them the course of the rivers Maese and Rhine, by which they could receive supplies and refreshments, he, in the month of March, 1759, put himself at the head of a corps of the allies, and advanced to execute this design; but the duke de Broglie, with a considerable detachment of the French troops, posted himself in a very strong and judicious manner at Bergen, between Francfort and Hanau; which post prince Ferdinand found it necessary to force, before he could penetrate to Francfort. Lord George Sackville, who commanded the British forces, protested against such an attack as rash and imprudent: however, prince Ferdinand ordered the prince of Isenbourg to attack the enemy's intrenchments, which he did with great intrepidity, and was repulsed; twice more he returned to the charge, and in the latter fell, with near two thousand of his countrymen. Prince Ferdinand, finding it impossible to force this post, withdrew, while the French, with a prodigious superiority, obliged him to retreat, and act on the defensive until the month of August; when having followed him to the town of Minden, on the Weser, M. Contades, the French commander, resolved to give him battle; the vicinity of the two armies, for several days, had made prince Ferdinand apprehensive of such a step; but he did not expect it on the day it happened: he was conscious, that they intended to deprive him of the course of the Weser; and that was one of the principal advantages they expected to derive from an action: therefore general Wangenheim, with a considerable corps, was entrenched at Dodenhause, on the banks of the Weser, while the rest of the army was encamped at a small distance near the village of Hille. On the last day of July, Contades gave his orders for fighting; he directed the duke de Broglie to march in the dead of the following night, and early in the morning to force Wangenheim, who it was appre-

hended was not strong, and place himself between the allied army and the Weser, while Contades should, on a sudden, surprize the prince in front. Broglie, to his great astonishment, found Wangenheim's troops drawn up in excellent order, entrenched and defended by a numerous artillery; this discovery put a stop to his operations. About the same time Contades fired upon Hille, which alarmed the allies, who forthwith put themselves in order, expecting the French were come to give them battle; but finding them not so near as they had apprehended, they advanced to the plain of Minden, and there saw the enemy. Broglie attacked Wangenheim very vigorously; but the artillery was so admirably served against him, that his troops recoiled, and he found it necessary to retire. Contades directed his cavalry to charge the allied infantry, whom he perceived to be advancing: here the brunt of the action fell: six regiments of English infantry and two battalions of Hanoverian guards sustained the efforts of the whole French centre, consisting of horse, the flower of their cavalry, and the strength of their army, with a resolution and expertness in their manœvre, as perhaps never was equalled. During this conflict, orders were sent to the British and Hanoverian horse on the right, commanded by lord George Sackville, divided from the infantry by a wood, to come up and sustain the infantry; but the commander apprehending these orders to be not sufficiently explicit and consistent, he hesitated in the execution, by which it is believed by some, that the precious moment was lost; the British infantry having defeated the French cavalry, and there was no horse at hand to effectually finish the work. Others say, that had these orders been immediately obeyed, his lordship could not come up time enough to have had any share in the action. There was a strange confusion this day; the artillery had no orders till very late, and the engineers were galloping about the field in quest of orders, when aid-de-camps ought to

have spared them the necessity of quitting their stations: at length, lord George Sackville directed them to proceed to the front: where they were of the utmost service towards obtaining the victory. Contades, finding that his cavalry could not resist the British infantry, and that these troops broke every corps before them, ordered a retreat, which the duke de Broglie covered in a very excellent manner. The loss of the French amounted to near seven thousand men, slain and prisoners; that of the allies exceeded two thousand five hundred. The vanquished retreated across the Weser, and for want of subsistence precipitately fled towards Cassel: the allies took several towns in the pursuit, and laid siege to Munster; but the French by relieving it, set a bound to the progress of the allied arms, who left the enemy at the conclusion of the campaign, just where they had found themselves at the beginning.

On the twenty-third of January the English fleet came before the town of Basse-Terre, the capital of Guadaloupe; a place of considerable extent, large trade, and defended by a strong fortress. This fortress, in the opinion of the chief engineer, was not to be reduced by the shipping. But commodore Moore, notwithstanding this opinion, brought four men of war to bear upon the citadel; the rest were disposed against the town, and the batteries which obstructed the landing. About nine in the morning a fire from all sides began, which continued with the utmost fury until night, when the citadel, and all the batteries, were effectually silenced. During this cannonade the bombs, that were continually showered upon the town, set it on fire in several places. It burned without interruption the whole of this and the following day; when it was almost totally reduced to ashes. The loss was prodigious from the number of warehouses in the town, full of rich, but combustible materials. Nothing could be more striking, than the horror of the spectacle, from the mutual and unremitted fire of so many

great ships and batteries, heightened with a long line of flames, which extended along the shore, and formed the back ground of this terrible picture.

In this lively engagement, our loss was very inconsiderable. The next day, January the twenty-fourth, the forces landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel. Notwithstanding this success, the island was far from being reduced. The country is rugged and mountainous, and bounded with passes and defiles, of a difficult and dangerous nature. The inhabitants had retired with their armed negroes into the mountains; and all seemed prepared to defend their possessions bravely, and to the last extremities.

General Hopson died on the twenty-seventh of February, and general Barrington succeeded him. He embarked part of his forces for the Grand-Terre, where colonel Crumb attacked and reduced the towns of St. Anne, and St. Francois; whilst this attack diverted the enemy's attention, the general fell upon the strong post of Gosier, and possessed himself of it; and thus the Grand-Terre was in a manner reduced, and disabled from sending any relief to the other part.

There is a considerable mountain, not far from the town of Basse Terre, called Dos d'Asne, or the Ass's back; thither a great part of the enemy had retired. It is a post of great strength, and great importance, as it keeps a watch upon the town, and at the same time forms the only communication that is between that town and the Cape Terre, the plainest, pleasantest, and most fruitful part of the whole island.

It was not judged practicable to break into it by this way; and all the rest of Guadaloupe was in the enemy's possession. Therefore a plan was formed for another operation, by which it was proposed to surprize Petit Bourg, Goyave, and St. Mary's, and by that way to march into Cape Terre,

which might be easily reduced. But this design failing, it was necessary to attempt those places by plain force. Colonel Crump landed near Arnonville, and attacked the enemy, strongly entrenched at a post strong by nature, called Le Corne. This was forced; another entrenchment at Petit Bourg had the same fate; a third near St. Mary's yielded in the same manner. An opening being at last made into the Cape Terre, the inhabitants saw that the best of the country was on the point of being given up to fire and sword; they came in and capitulated; their possessions, and their civil and religious liberties were granted to them May the first.

Three small islands, near Guadaloupe, Deseada, Santos and Petit Terre, surrendered a few days after, and on the same terms.

This capitulation was hardly signed, when the French squadron under M. Bompert appeared before the island, and landed at St. Anne's, in the Grand-Terre, the general of the French Caribbees, with six hundred regular troops, two thousand buccaneers, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition. The capitulation was made at the most critical time; for had this re-inforcement arrived but a day sooner, the whole expedition had probably been lost.

Thus came into the possession of Great Britain this valuable island, after a campaign of near three months, in which the English troops behaved with a firmness, courage, and perseverance, that ought never to be forgot. Intolerable heat, continual fatigue, the air of an unaccustomed climate, a country full of lofty mountains and steep precipices, posts strong by nature and by art, defended by men who fought for every thing that was dear to them; all these difficulties only increased the ardour of our forces, who thought nothing impossible under commanders, who were not more distinguished for their intrepidity and skill, than their zeal for the service of their country, and the perfect harmony and

good understanding that subsisted between them. There is nothing, perhaps, so necessary to inspire confidence in the soldiers, as to observe that the officers have a perfect confidence in one another.

It must not be omitted, that many of the inhabitants exerted themselves very gallantly in the defence of their country. A woman, a considerable planter in the island, particularly distinguished herself; she was called Madame Ducharmey: this Amazon put herself at the head of her servants and slaves, and acquitted herself in a manner not inferior to the bravest men.

Soon after the reduction of Guadaloupe, the island of Marigalante surrendered itself upon terms similar to those which were granted to the former island. This is a small island, but the conquest is of consequence, as the French by this are left no footing in the Leeward islands.

The fleet and army arrived at the isle of Orleans, a few miles from Quebec, without any accident, on the twenty-sixth of June, 1759. The army was commanded by general Wolfe, and the fleet by admiral Saunders. The French army was posted in a most advantageous situation, upon what was deemed the only accessible side of Quebec. The army landed on the isle of Orleans on the twenty-seventh. Soon after the troops landed, a storm arose, in which many of the small boats were lost, and some damage done the transports. On the twenty-eighth, in the night, the enemy sent down some fire-ships; the boats of the fleet were ordered to fix their grappling-chains, and tow them clear of every ship. On the twenty-ninth, general Monkton dislodged the enemy from Point Levy, and Col. Carleton was detached to secure the westernmost point of the isle of Orleans. General Wolfe took his post here. Batteries were immediately erected upon Point Levy, to bombard the town and magazines, and destroy their other works. The enemy observing this, sent one thousand six hundred men a-

cross the river to destroy them, but they fell into confusion, and went back again. The works being finished, general Wolfe sent a flag of truce to the commander of Québec, at the same time informing him, that his majesty had given express orders to avoid that inhuman method of scalping, and to declare if the French used it they might expect to be punished. The marquis de Vaudriol replied with contempt, sneering at such a handful of men, who pretended to make a conquest of so extensive and populous a country as Canada. Upon these hostilities commenced, the artillery played so effectually, as soon destroyed the lower town. The ninth of July, the army encamped near the enemy's left. The river Montmorency being between them, general Wolfe saw with concern the secure situation of M. Montcalm's camp, and accordingly used all methods to attack him with advantage. The opposite banks of the river were so steep and woody, so well entrenched and guarded with Indians, that it was in vain to attack them. On the eighteenth he sent two men of war, two sloops, and two transports, with troops on board, to sail up the upper river. These passed the city without any loss from the enemy; but here he found the same difficulties as before; the general being informed that a number of the inhabitants of Québec had retired to Point Trempe, a post up the river, sent a detachment under colonel Carleton, to bring off some prisoners, and what papers he could get. This he attempted, and succeeded with little loss, but found no magazine there. The enemy sent seventeen rafts, one hundred and three feet long, well provided with gun and pistol barrels loaded, and all sorts of combustibles; but these were grappled as before, with the loss only of one boat. The general finding his manifesto had no effect, ordered all the habitations of the Indians, with their barns, stables, and corn on the lands, to be totally burnt and destroyed. General Wolfe, after reconnoitering, resolved upon attacking the enemy the first opportunity.

To forward this attempt he ordered two transports, which drew little water, to be carried close to the shore, to attack a redoubt near the water's edge, whose situation appeared to be within musket shot of the entrenchment on the top of the hill. Preparations were made on the thirty first of July for a general engagement. After many attempts, the general, accompanied by several naval officers, went in a flat-bottomed boat, and gave immediate orders for the troops to disembark. The grenadiers, by mistake, instead of forming themselves, ran on impetuously to the enemy's intrenchments, in the utmost disorder and confusion, not waiting for the corps ordered to sustain them. This was the occasion of losing some gallant officers; the general therefore called them off to form behind brigadier Monkton's corps. The tide being now beginning to flow, it was judged hazardous to continue the attack; however, it was observed, that our artillery did great execution on the enemy's left. Orders were given for a retreat, which the French did not think fit to interrupt. The general however saw the attempt so hazardous, that he desisted doing any more till general Amherst should arrive; but at the same time gave orders for penetrating as far up the river as possible, in order to open a communication for that general, who was marching from Crown Point. Brigadier Murray embarked on board a squadron with twelve hundred men, commanded by rear admiral Holms, in order to destroy the French men of war above the town. They sailed up the river twelve leagues, and landed at the Chambaud, burnt a magazine of provisions, ammunition and spare stores, cloathing, arms, &c. of the French army, and were informed of the success of the British arms against Niagara and Crown Point. The general called in this detachment, as the season was so far advanced, that it was in vain to expect general Amherst. At their return, they found the general ill of a fever, brought on him by care, watching, and fatigue, and was in a desponding state, being afraid he should return without success. A

council of war was called, wherein it was agreed that four or five thousand men, conveyed above the town, might perhaps be able to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to a general engagement. For this end, he made the ships under Admiral Saunders make a feint, as if they proposed attacking the French in their entrenchments on the Beauport shore below the town. This disposition being made, the general embarked his forces about one in the morning, and, with admiral Holms's division, went three leagues up the river, in order to amuse the enemy, and conceal his real design. Then he put them into boats, and fell silently down with the tide; the ships followed them, and arrived in proper time to cover their landing. The darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the stream, made this a hazardous undertaking, as the troops could not land at the spot they proposed. When they were put on shore, a steep hill, with a little path, wherein two could only march a-breast, presented itself; however, these difficulties only raised the ardour of the troops. The light infantry, under colonel Howe, laid hold on stumps and boughs of trees, pulled themselves up, dislodged the guards that defended it, and cleared the pass so, that at day break the whole army was in order of battle. On the thirteenth of September, when Montcalm heard of the English ascending the hill, and were formed on the high ground behind the town, he could scarcely believe it. He saw now that by the position of the English fleet and army, nothing but an engagement could save the city; accordingly he determined to give battle, and he advanced and formed his troops opposite to ours. The dispositions for the attack were made in the most judicious manner by both armies, and they both began with spirit. The English troops had orders to reserve their fire till the enemy was within forty yards, when their fire took place in its full extent, and made a terrible havock among the French. This was supported with as much vigour as it had been

begun; the French gave way on every side, but just at the time when victory declared itself, general Wolfe was slain. General Monkton fell soon after. General Townsend now commanded, who exerted himself so well, and his men behaved with so much intrepidity, that the French began to give way every where.

The battle seemed now to be quite won, when an unforeseen accident happened: M. de Rouganville, whom the feigned movement of the English troops had drawn up the river, turned back when he discovered their real design, and appeared in their rear with a body of two thousand men; but the main body of the French being now routed, the English wheeled about, and the enemy retreated after a very feeble attempt. In this action we lost five hundred men, the French fifteen hundred; yet this battle was a great loss to the English, as they lost the brave Wolfe, a man formed by nature for military greatness. The French lost also a great officer in general Montcalm, who fell soon after general Wolfe. The enemy being now defeated in the field, general Townsend, in order to defend his camp from insults, raised a battery of cannon, and prepared for a general assault. The admiral also brought his large ships into a position to attack the town; but before all things could be completed for a general attack, on the seventeenth of September, the governor dispatched a flag of truce, with proposals for a capitulation upon honourable terms, for the garrison, and advantageous to the inhabitants, who were preserved in the free exercise of their religion. The fortifications were in tolerable order, though the houses were almost totally demolished. A garrison of five thousand men, under the command of general Murray, were put into the place. Thus the capital of French America was surrendered to the English, after a most severe campaign of near three months; a city strong in situation and fortification, with an army greatly superior in number to the besiegers, fortified under her walls.

The squadron appointed for the expedition to Goree was commanded by commodore Keppel, and consisted of seven ships of the line, and six hundred soldiers. On the twenty-fourth of December, the commodore, with all the ships, came to an anchor in the road of Goree, about three o'clock, the island bearing S. W. by S. about four miles, and in eighteen fathom water. That day a bomb was ordered to proceed, covered from the fire by the Prince Edward, and to anchor on breast a small lunette battery, a little below the citadel on the north, the Nassau on breast of St. Peter's battery, the Dunkirk on breast of a battery to the northward, the commodore in the Torbay followed him, taking for his part the west point battery, and the west corner of St. Francis' fort, and captain Knight in the Fougoux had to bring up the rear, and had to his share the mortar battery allotted him. After Mr. Keppel had given them all proper instructions, he wished them good success, desiring them to be as expeditious as possible, and perform their duty as became Britons. The Prince Edward and Fire Drake bomb bore down about nine, but were roughly handled by the fort, lieutenant West being much wounded. The admiral observing their mortars were too much charged, and went over the fort, gave orders for to remedy that fault, desiring them to assist the Prince Edward and Fire Drake, whom the enemy seemed resolved to sink. The commodore also ordered the Nassau to assist the Prince Edward; but a calm ensuing, retarded the Torbay and the Fougoux. The commodore next brought up a breast the angles of both the west and point batteries and St. Francis' fort, in such a manner, that when he was moored, the enemy could not bring a gun from thence to bear upon him, and there could nothing reach him with advantage, but two guns off St. Peter's, and three from a small lunette in the way to St. Michael's, and their firing was almost silenced from the other ships, so that the Torbay had a battery to attack almost de-

serted. She made such a continual infernal fire, that it was impossible for the French soldiers to stand to their quarters, so that in a little time the governor surrendered at discretion. The commodore sent a party of marines on shore, who took possession of the island, and hoisted British colours on fort St. Michael.

During the whole time of the attack, lieutenant-colonel Worge, who had the command of the soldiery, had his troops embarked in flat-bottomed boats, disposed and ready at a proper distance with the transports, to attempt a descent when it should have appeared proper. They took three hundred prisoners, besides a great number of blacks, with all their cannon, military stores, &c.

The English fleet, after having rendezvoused at Barbadoes, came before Martinico on the seventh of January, 1762. The troops landed at a creek called Cas Navire, without the loss of a man; the fleet having been disposed so properly, and having directed their fire with such effect, that the enemy were obliged in a short time to abandon the batteries they had erected to defend this inlet.

When the landing was effected, the difficulties were far from being at an end. It is true, that neither the number nor the quality of the enemy's regular troops in the island was very formidable. But the militia was numerous, well armed, and not unqualified for service in the only kind of war which could be carried on in their country. Besides, the whole country was a natural fortification, from the number of ravines, with rivulets between them, which lay from distance to distance. Wherever these grounds were practicable, the French had posted guards and erected batteries. It is easy from hence to discern what obstructions the progress of an army was liable to, particularly with regard to its artillery. These obstructions were no where greater than in the neighbourhood of the place, against which the first regular attack was proposed.

This town and citadel is overlooked and commanded by two very considerable eminences, called Morne Tortenson and Morne Garnier. Whilst the enemy kept possession of these eminences, it was impossible to attack the town; if they lost them, it would prove impossible to defend it. Suitable to the importance of those situations were the measures taken to render them impregnable. They were protected, like other high grounds in this island, with very deep ravines; and this great natural strength was improved by every contrivance of art. The Morne Tortenson was first to be attacked. To favour this operation, a body of regular troops and marines were ordered to advance on the right along the sea-side, towards the town, in order to take the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. A thousand sailors, in flat-bottomed boats, rowed close to the shore to assist them. On the left, towards the country, a corps of light infantry, properly supported, was to get round the enemy's left; whilst the attack in the center was made by the British grenadiers and the body of the army, under the fire of batteries, which had been erected on the opposite side with great labour and perseverance, the cannon having been dragged upwards of three miles by the seamen.

The dispositions for the attack of this difficult post having been made with so much judgment on the part of the commander, it was executed with equal spirit and resolution by the soldiery. The attack succeeded in every quarter. With irresistible impetuosity the enemy's works were successively carried. They were driven from post to post; until our troops, after a sharp struggle, remained masters of the whole Morne: some of the enemy fled precipitately into the town, to the very entrance of which they were pursued. Others saved themselves on the Morne Garnier, which was as strong, and much higher, than Morne Tortenson, that overlooked and commanded it. Thus far had they proceeded with success; but nothing decisive could be

done, without the possession of the other eminence, our troops being much molested by the enemy from that superior situation.

It was three days before proper dispositions could be made for driving them from this ground. Whilst these dispositions were making, the enemy's whole force descended from the hill, sallied out of the town, and attacked the English in their advanced posts; but they were immediately repulsed: and the ardour of the British troops hurrying them forward, they improved a defensive advantage into an attack, passed the ravines, mingled with the enemy, scaled the hill, seized the batteries, and posted themselves on the summit of Morne Garnier. The French regular troops escaped into the town. The militia dispersed themselves in the country.

All the situations which commanded the town and citadel were now secured; and the enemy waited no longer than until the batteries against them were completed to capitulate, and to surrender this important place, the second in the island.

The capital of the island, St. Pierre, still remained to be reduced: this is also a place of no contemptible strength; and it was apprehended that the resistance here might be considerable, if the strength of the garrison in any degree corresponded with that of the fortifications, and with the natural advantages of the country. Our troops therefore were still under some anxiety for the final success of their work, and feared, if not disappointment, at least delay. But the reduction of Fort Royal had so greatly abated the enemy's confidence, that the militia despaired of making any effectual defence. The planters also, solicitous for their fortunes, were apprehensive of having their estates ruined by a war too long continued, or perhaps of losing all by passing the opportunity of a favourable capitulation. Influenced by these motives, and disheartened by the train of

misfortunes which had attended the French arms here and in all other parts of the world, they resolved to hold out no longer; and general Monkton, just as he was ready to embark for the reduction of St. Pierre, was fortunately prevented by the arrival of deputies, who came to capitulate for the surrender of that place and of the whole island.

The surrender of Martinico, which was the seat of the superior government, the principal mart of trade, and the center of all the French force in the Caribbees, naturally drew on the surrender of all the dependent islands. Grenada, a fertile island, and possessed of some good harbours, was given up without opposition. St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been objects of contention between the two nations, followed its example. The English were now the sole and undisturbed possessors of all the Caribbees, and held the chain of innumerable islands which forms an immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost to the continent of South America. And though some of these islands are barren, none of them very large, and not many of them well inhabited, they boast more trade than falls to the lot of many respectable kingdoms.

On the twenty-ninth of March, 1761, an English fleet set sail from Spithead, on an expedition to Belleisle, the largest of all the European islands belonging to the French king, and is between twelve and thirteen leagues in circumference. This island originally belonged to the Earl of Cornwall, but has been since yielded to the king: it contains only one little city, called Le Palais, three country towns, one hundred and three villages, and about five thousand inhabitants.

The town of Palais takes its name from a castle belonging to the duke de Belleisle, in its neighbourhood, which is now converted into a citadel, and is a regular and strong fortification, fronting the sea, composed principally of horn-

work, and is provided with two dry ditches, the one next to the counterescarp, and the other so contrived as to secure the interior fortifications. The citadel is divided from the largest part of the town by an inlet of the sea, over which there is a bridge of communication; from the other part of the town, and which is most inhabited, it is only divided by its own fortifications, and a glacis. There are three nominal harbours in this island, Palais, Sauzon and Goulfard. Every one of which labours under some capital defect, either in being exposed, shallow, or dangerous at the entrance. The only branch of trade carried on here is the curing pilchards.

From the state of this island, poor in itself, capable of little improvement, and so ill circumstanced in point of harbours, a sort of a dislike to the expedition began to arise. Several did not see of what considerable service such a conquest would be to England in time of peace, or of what prejudice to the enemy in time of war. They foresaw that it could not be taken without a considerable expence; and on the whole they apprehended that when exchanges came to be made, France would lay no great stress upon it. On the other hand it was urged, that though the harbours were bad, yet small privateers might issue from thence, greatly to the molestation of the French coasting trade; and that the fleet of England might ride between it and the continent in a well-protected road. They imagined the possession of this island, if not of great detriment to the interest of France, would be a grievous wound to her pride; and that those circumstances which had formerly induced her to expend money on the fortifications here, and on the apprehension of an invasion to fill them with a powerful garrison, would likewise persuade her to set a value on the place when it came to be estimated in the treaty.

While they reasoned in this manner in England, the fleet under the command of commodore Keppel, and the land

forces under general Hodgson, arrived before Belleisle on the seventh of April, and on the eighth agreed to attempt a landing on the south east of the island in a sandy bay near Lochmaria point. Here the enemy were in possession of a little fort; they had moreover entrenched themselves on an hill excessively steep, and the foot of which was scraped away. The attempt was made in three places with great resolution; a few grenadiers got on shore, and formed themselves; but as they were not supported, they were for the greater part made prisoners. The rest of the army, after several very brave and repeated efforts, being wholly unable to force the enemy's lines or make good their landing, were obliged to retire with loss; what added to the disaster was, that several of the flat-bottomed vessels were destroyed or damaged in an hard gale which followed on our retiring from the shore. This made the prospect of any future attempt more unpleasing even than the first. In this attack we lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, near five hundred men.

Neither commander nor soldiers were however dispirited by this mortifying repulse. They resolved if possible not to return without effect, and then determined diligently to search the whole coast in order to find a place more favourable for another attack. The view indeed was not encouraging. The island is naturally a fortification; and what nature had left undone to make it such, had been amply supplied by art.

It was a long time after this first failure before the weather would give our commanders an opportunity of a second trial; however they persisted with the utmost steadiness, and found at length a convenient situation. Not that it was a part of the coast less strong than the rest; on the contrary, they built their principal hopes on the excessive steepness and difficulty of the rocks, which had rendered the enemy rather less attentive on this quarter. This ar-

duous attempt was made at a bold rocky shore near the above-mentioned point of Lochmaria. Besides the principal attack, two feints were made at the same time to distract the enemy, whilst the men of war directed their fire with great judgment and effect on the hills. These manœuvres gave brigadier Lambert, with an handful of men, an opportunity of climbing up a very steep rock without molestation. This little body having thus prosperously gained the top of the hill, formed themselves in good order and without delay. On April the twenty-fifth, they were immediately attacked by three hundred of the French, but they maintained their advantage with resolution until the whole corps of brigadier Lambert, which now had ascended in the same manner, arrived to their assistance, and repulsed the enemy.

The landing of all the forces was made good in a short time after. The loss in this daring and successful attempt was inconsiderable. In one or two places the enemy seemed disposed to make some stand; but the body of light horse, which was embarked in this expedition, soon drove them to the town, and laid all quite open to the entrenchments before it. The great difficulty now consisted in bringing forward the cannon, which were first to be dragged up the rocks, and afterwards, for two leagues, along a very rugged and broken road. This necessarily took up some time. However the siege was commenced with vigour: and the garrison, commanded by the chevalier de St. Croix, a brave and experienced officer, threatened on their side a long and obstinate defence. The enemy made some sallies; one of them with considerable effect. Major-general Crawford was made prisoner on this occasion. But our troops were only animated by these checks. A furious attack was made upon the enemy's lines which covered the town; and they were carried without much loss; principally by the uncommon intrepidity of a corps of marines which had been but new-

ly raised. No action of greater spirit and gallantry had been performed during the whole war.

The town was now entirely abandoned, and the defence confined to the citadel. It was obvious, that as our fleet prevented all communication with the continent, and thereby cut off all hope of relief, the place must necessarily be reduced; but the chevalier de St. Croix was resolved to provide for his own honour, when he could not for the preservation of the place entrusted to him, and, since he could not maintain it, to sell it as dear as possible. Accordingly there was no mention of yielding, until the seventh of June, when there was no longer the slightest prospect of succour, and the place was by no means safely tenable. Then he capitulated, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

Thus was the island of Belleisle reduced under the English government, after a defence of two months. In this expedition we had about eight hundred men killed and wounded. The loss most regretted was that of Sir W. Peere Williams, a young gentleman of great talents and expectation, and who had made a distinguished figure in parliament. He had but newly entered into the service. He was shot in the night, by having carelessly approached too near a centinel of the enemy. He was the third gentleman of fashion whom in this war the love of enterprize had brought to an honourable death in these expeditions to the coast of France.

In the expedition to the Havannah, Lord Albemarle commanded the land forces, and Admiral Pococke commanded the navy. He took a course of seven hundred miles through the Streights of Bahama. They arrived before the Havannah on the fifth of June, 1762.

The Havannah is a city and port on the north-west coast of the island of Cuba, about fifty leagues from Cape St. Antonio, its westernmost point, four hundred and ninety miles

west from St. Jago, forty-one leagues south of the cape of Florida, the gulph of which it commands, by being situated at its mouth, entering into the gulph of Mexico, and two days sail from the Streights of Bahama. For the sake of so important a situation it was removed from its original scite, which was about twelve leagues distant on the south coast near Mataban; but the establishment of this port is said to be one of the chief causes of the declension of the island of Hispaniola. The latitude assigned to this place is taken from an accurate observation made of it in 1717, by Don Marco Antonio de Gamboa, only he makes it eight seconds less; and the longitude is according to other observations he made in 1715, 1724, and 1725, by eclipses of the moon, and in 1740, by that of Jupiter's first Satellite; an authority which we the rather choose to mention, because Mr. Popple's map of the British empire in America, published in 1732, places it in longitude eighty-three, fifteen, and latitude twenty-three, twenty-one, which is a variation of nine minutes in the latter, and of above a whole degree in the former. Others copying Herrera, have also erred grossly by placing it in latitude twenty-two and one half.

It was originally called the Port of Carenas, i. e. a port for careening of ships, but its proper name is San Christoval de la Havannah.

It was built by Diego de Velasques, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century landed here with three hundred Spaniards, and conquered Cuba, with the assistance of the famous Bartholomew de las Casas, who afterwards turning a Dominican friar, was made bishop of Chiapa in New-Spain, and wrote the History of the Spanish cruelties here, and in other parts of the West-Indies. The first attempt that we find made upon it after the Spaniards settled here, was in 1536, by a French pirate, who took the place, which then consisted only of wooden houses thatched, and made

the Spaniards redeem it from fire by seven hundred ducats. It happened that three ships arriving from New-Spain the next day after he was sailed with the ransom, unloaded their goods with all expedition, and pursued the pirate; but the commanders behaved so cowardly, that he took all the three, one whereof was an admiral's ship, which so emboldened the pirate, that he returned to the Havannah, and made the inhabitants pay him seven hundred ducats more. After this the Spaniards built their houses of stone, and a fort at the mouth of the harbour, but the city being still open on the land-side, some English cruisers in those seas landed not far from the town, and entered it before day-break, whereupon the Spaniards fled into the woods, leaving the place to be plundered. During the war betwixt Henry II. of France and the emperor Charles V. a French ship from Dieppe with ninety men, after having plundered St. Jago, came hither in the night, but to their great disappointment found all the houses empty, they having been so often plundered, that the Spaniards had removed all their goods to houses in the country. While they were searching them, two persons came to them, pretending to agree for ransom, but really to spy out their number. The French demanding six thousand ducats, the spies pretended all their effects would not raise that sum. Upon their return to their countrymen, a consultation was held, wherein some were for paying the sum if they could get no abatement, but the majority despising the enemy's number, were for disputing it with the sword; and marching secretly with one hundred and fifty men, surpris'd the French at midnight, and at the very first onset killed four; but the French, upon the firing of an alarm gun, recovered their arms in a trice, and put them to flight; and being enraged at the Spaniards' treachery, set fire to the town, after having dawbed the doors, windows, &c. with pitch and tar, of which there were then great quantities in the city, so

that it was soon all over in a flame; and they even pulled down the walls, and quite demolished the fort. A Spaniard desiring that they would spare the churches that were erected for the worship of God, the French answered, that people who had no faith had no occasion for churches to profess it in. The English Buccaniers, under captain Morgan, took this place in 1669, and would have kept it, could they have had the king of England's protection.

Its port is said to be the most frequented, as well as the best, in all the West-Indies, and one of the finest in the world. It is so large that a thousand sail of ships may ride in it commodiously and safely, without either anchor or cable, no wind being able to hurt them. It is so deep within, that the largest vessels anchor at a small distance from the shore, and there is commonly six fathom water. The entrance, which has no bar or shoals to obstruct it, is by a channel about three quarters of a mile in length, but so narrow, that only one ship can go in at a time. The harbour into which it leads at the north-west corner is a long square, lying north and south. At the other three corners it forms three creeks or bays. At the bottom of that in the south east corner lies the town of Wan Abacoa, as the Spaniards pronounce it, or Guan Abacoa as they write it, two leagues from the Havannah by land, but little more than a league by sea.

The city, which is said to be the richest in America, as it is no doubt when the galleons, &c. are here, (for at other times it is poor enough) stands in the most fruitful part of the island, and the only part where there are any farms and sheep, all the rest of it being mountainous and barren. It is built on the west side of the harbour, in a delightful plain along the shore, which rounds so much, that above half of it is washed by the sea, and the rest by two branches of the river Lagida. It is of an oval figure, and begins about a quarter of a mile from the mouth of the harbour.

The buildings, which are of stone, are fair, but not high; the streets are narrow, but clean, and as straight as a line, and even the houses very handsome, but ill furnished. Here are eleven churches and monasteries, and two handsome hospitals. There is a fine square, with all uniform buildings about it, in the middle of the town. The churches are magnificent and rich; the lamps, candlesticks, and ornaments for the altars, being of gold and silver. There are some lamps of most curious workmanship, which weigh two hundred marks of silver, each mark being half a pound. The Recollects' church, which stands on the best ground in the city, has twelve beautiful chapels in it; and there are cells in the monastery for fifty fathers. St. Clare's church has seven altars, all adorned with plate, and the nunnery contains an hundred women and servants, all clothed in blue. The Augustines' church has thirteen altars, St. John de Dieu's nine altars, with an hospital for soldiers, of twelve thousand pieces of eight revenue.

The jurisdiction of this city extends over one half of the island, and the chief places under it are St. Cruz on the north side, and La Trinidad on the south. It is the seat of the governor and captain-general of Cuba, and of the royal officers, as well as of an assessor for the assistance of the governor, appointed by the council of the Indies. It is also the residence of the bishop of St. Jago.

It is in fact a city of the greatest importance to the Spaniards of all their cities in America, as being the place of rendezvous for all their fleets in their return from that quarter of the world to Spain, and lying at the mouth of the gulph of Florida, through which they are all obliged to pass; wherefore the Spaniards, not without reason, call it the Key of all the West-Indies, to lock up, or open the door of entrance to all America: and in effect no ships can pass that way without leave from this port. Here rides the navy of the king of Spain, and here meet in September the

galleons, flota, and other merchant ships, from several ports both of the continent and islands, to the number of fifty, or perhaps sixty sail, to take in provisions and water, with great part of their lading: and for the convenience of returning to Spain in a body. Here is a continual fair till their departure, which is generally before the end of the month, when proclamation is made; forbidding any that belong to the fleet to stay in the town on pain of death; and upon firing a warning-gun, they all go aboard. The cargo they go with is seldom less than seven millions sterling. The reader will naturally imagine, that a place of this importance has been put in a condition both to defend itself, and to protect the ships that frequent it; therefore we shall treat, in the next place, of its strength.

The city has a wall on the land side, fortified with bastions, and a castle on the side towards the harbour; at the mouth of which are two other strong castles, capable of defending its entrance against many hundred sail of ships. These castles are mentioned by M. Gage, who was here in one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven. The chief, and strongest of them, and that to which lines extend from the castle first mentioned, is called El Morro, i. e. Head-land, from the point on which it stands on the left, or east side of the entrance; but the English sailors commonly call it Moor Castle, and some call it El Muro, or the Wall. It is built at the foot of two hills on a rock, with a ditch cut in it, filled with sea-water. The walls are of a triangular figure, with three large bastions, and planted with forty cannon, each twenty-four pounders. From this castle there runs a wall or line mounted with twelve prodigious long pieces of cannon, that lie level with the water, are all, or most of them, brass, carry each thirty-six pounds, and are called, by way of eminence, the Twelve Apostles. At the point between this castle and the sea there is a tower with a round lanthorn at the top, where a man continually watches, to

see what ships are approaching, of which he gives notice, by putting out as many flags as they are in number. The second of the castles at the harbour's mouth is called the Puntal or Mesa de Maria, (i. e. the Virgin Mary's Table) by some authors. It stands on a plain ground, on the side of the entrance which is opposite to the former, is a regular fortification with four bastions, and well planted with cannon. The third fort, which we mentioned first, is called El Fuere, or the Fort, by way of eminence, to distinguish it from the other two. It is a small, but strong work, on the west side towards the end of the narrow channel, with four regular bastions, and another platform mounted with near sixty large heavy brass cannon. Besides these three forts, there are two others, each of twelve guns, which stand on the shore four or five miles from the port. That to the east is called Cojemar, and that to the west Chorrera. These castles have in the whole one hundred and twenty guns, (one author says double the number) and are strongly garrisoned. And if they have but powder enough, they can never want bullets here, since we are told by Ovledo, that there are dug in a certain valley abundance of round smooth stones of several sizes, some as large as musket balls, and some even as the biggest cannon balls, and are used as such.

When all things were in readiness, the admiral with a great part of the fleet bore away to the westward, in order to draw the enemy's attention away from the true object, and made a feint, as if he intended to land on that side, while commodore Keppel, and captain Harvey, commanding a detachment of the squadron, approached the shore to the eastward, and affected a landing there in the utmost order, on the seventh of June, without any opposition, having silenced a small fort, which might have given some disturbance. The army was divided into two corps; one of which, commanded by general Elliot, was to advance up

the country to the south east, in order to cover the siege, and secure our people employed in procuring provisions and water. The other part was to be employed in the attack upon fort Moro; this first commanded the town, and the entrance into the harbour. This attack was conducted by general Keppel; and colonel Howe, to favour this grand operation, was ordered to make a diversion to the westward of the town. This body cut off all communication between the town and the country, and kept the enemy's attention divided. It is not to be imagined what hardships the army sustained in carrying on the siege of the Moro, the earth being so thin, that they could scarce cover themselves in their approaches, and there was so great a scarcity of water, that they were obliged to bring it from the ships; the difficulty of the roads, and the heat of the climate, and having so much fatigue in bringing their artillery, that several dropt down dead; but such was the intrepidity of our people, among whom subsisted a perfect harmony, that no difficulties were capable of discouraging them. They erected batteries against the Moro, and several others, in order to drive the enemy's ships farther up the harbour, to prevent them from molesting us in our approaches. On June the twenty-fourth the garrison made a sally with little success, and the loss of three hundred men; by this time the navy, having done all in their power to assist the land forces, on July the first, three of the largest ships laid their broad sides against the fort, and began to fire upon it. The same day we opened our batteries: they continued firing seven hours, but the Moro being so much above them, and fort Puntal on the opposite side, galled them so much, that to prevent their utter destruction, they were obliged to bring them off with the loss of some men and officers. Notwithstanding our loss, yet it took off some of the enemy's attention on that side, and our fire was poured in with redoubled fury. On July the third, our capital battery

was set on fire by the enemy, so that the labour of six hundred men for seven days was destroyed in a moment.

This was a heavy stroke, as sickness now greatly prevailed amongst the troops; there were no less than five thousand soldiers and three thousand sailors all sick at once. There was a total want of fresh provisions and fresh water; what they had being to be brought from a great distance; and the advanced season made them also despair of success. The hearts of the most sanguine failed within them, when they considered this gallant army wasting away continually by sickness: however, the brave officers spirited up the men in such a manner, that new batteries soon arose in place of the old ones; so that their fire soon became superior to the enemy's. They by degrees silenced the enemy's cannon, beat down their upper works, and on the twentieth of July made a lodgment in the covert-way. This and the rich prize that was in view, made their hopes more lively. On July the twelfth the Jamaica fleet arrived with several conveniencies for the siege. July the twenty-eighth the New York reinforcement arrived; some of the transports were lost in the passage, but the men were saved.

All these favourable events gave them new life; but just as they thought all their work near finished, a new difficulty arose, a monstrous ditch of eight feet deep and forty wide yawned before them, which it seemed impossible to fill up; providence had so ordered it, that a thin ridge of rock had been left to cover the ditch near the sea. On this narrow ridge the miners passed the ditch with very little loss, and July the twentieth, soon buried themselves under the wall.

The governor now saw plainly, that the fort would speedily be reduced, if some bold push was not made; therefore, on the twenty-second of July, by break of day, a body of twelve hundred men were transported across the harbour, who climbed up the hills, and made their attack upon our

posts, but they were soon driven down the hill with great slaughter, and the loss of four hundred men killed.

July the thirtieth, the miners had done so much execution, that a part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch; leaving a narrow breach, which the general and engineer judged practicable. The troops that were to advance upon this most dangerous of all services did it cheerfully, thinking it would be the end of their labours. They accordingly entered the fort, which they did with such intrepidity, coolness and resolution, that the enemy fled on all sides. About four hundred were slain on the spot, or ran into the water, where they perished. Four hundred more threw down their arms, and obtained quarter. The marquis de Gonfales, the second in command, fell, while he was bravely rallying his troops. Don Lewis de Velasco, the governor, who had so bravely defended the fort, seemed resolved to bury himself in its ruins; he had entrenched himself and his colours, with one hundred men to defend them; those being all slain, or run away, he, disdaining to retire, or call for quarter, received a mortal wound and fell, offering his sword to his conquerors. This drew tears of pity over that unfortunate valour, which had cost them so dear.

Thus the Moro fell into our hands after a vigorous struggle of forty-four days; notwithstanding the sickness raged with great violence, they immediately raised many new batteries, and the whole fire was turned against the town. Preparations for an attack were also made, and batteries erected to the westward of the town. August the second, a part of the second division of troops from North America arrived; part of them having been taken by a squadron of French men of war. August the tenth, lord Albemarle sent a flag to the governor, informing him of the preparations he had made to attack the town; but, that there might be no more blood shed, advised him to capitulate. The governor returned an answer in the most polite manner, that

he would defend the town to the last extremity, and immediately began to fire.

Lord Albemarle, to convince the governor, that he was in earnest, next morning ordered a general fire from the batteries, which were poured upon the town on all sides, and continued with irresistible fury for six hours; so that all the enemy's guns were almost silenced. Upon which, to the great joy of the fleet and army, flags of truce were hung out from all quarters of the town. The town capitulated, upon having their religion, laws, and private property of the subjects secured. The garrison, which were reduced to seven hundred men, had the honours of war given them, and were to be conveyed to Spain. Thus a district of one hundred and eighty miles were yielded along with the town to the English. The Spaniards wanted to have saved the men of war, and the town to be declared a free port during the war; both these were refused them. On the fourteenth of August the town was given up, after a siege of two months and eight days.

Nine sail of the enemy's ships of the line, some of the finest ships in the world, were taken, with four frigates. They had sunk three of their capital ships at the beginning of the siege; two more were in great forwardness on the stocks; these the English destroyed. The enemy lost a whole fleet, and the money and effects of the king of Spain did not amount to less than three millions sterling.

So rich a capture as this had never been taken, which the government reaped no benefit from; yet individuals were enriched by it. The success of our arms in the East-Indies has brought into England, during the war, near six millions in treasure and jewels. Let it be also remembered, that by the *Hermione*, which was taken after the family compact, in which was near a million of money; this, with the others, considerably sunk the resources of money, which was one of the principal objects when the family compact

was formed. These successes made a way for the general peace, which soon followed.

The Manilas, or Philippines, form a principal division of that immense Indian Archipelago, which consists of many hundred islands, some of them the largest, and many of them by nature the richest in the world; and which lie in the torrid zone, extending from the nineteenth degree of north latitude, almost in a continued chain, to New Guinea, and to the neighbouring shores of the great southern continent.

The Philippines form the northernmost cluster of these islands. They were discovered in the year 1521, by the famous navigator Ferdinand Magellan: they were added to the Spanish monarchy by Don Lewis de Velasco, in 1564, in the reign of Philip the second, under whom the Spanish dominion was greatly augmented, and its real strength, at the same time, so impaired, that almost two centuries have not restored it to its former vigour. The Philippines are scarce inferior to any of the other islands of Asia, in all the natural productions of that happy climate; and they are by far the best situated for an extended and advantageous commerce. By their position they form the center of intercourse with China, Japan, and the Spice Islands; and whilst they are under the dominion of Spain, they connect the Asiatic and American commerce, and become the general entrepot for the rich manufactures and products of the one, and for the treasures of the other. Besides, they are well situated for a supply of European goods, both from the side of Acapulco, and by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

In fact, they formerly enjoyed a traffic in some degree proportioned to the peculiar felicity of their situation; but the Spanish dominion is too vast and unconnected to be improved to the best advantage. The spirit of commerce is not powerful in that people. The trade of the Philippines is thought to have declined: its great branch is now re-

duced to two ships, which annually pass between these islands and Acapulco in America, and to a single port, that of Manila, in an island of the same name.

But though declined, this trade is still a vast object of protection to Spain, and of hostilities to whatever nation is engaged in war with her. In the war, which began in 1739; and which was not distinguished by such a series of wonderful successes as the last, the taking of the galleon, which carries on the trade between Manila and America, was considered as one of the most brilliant advantages which we obtained; and it has, accordingly, been much insisted upon in all the histories of that period. This galleon is generally worth more than six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The principal island of the Philippines is called Manila, or Luconia; it is in length something more than three hundred miles; its breadth is extremely unequal; at a medium it may be about eighty or ninety. The Spanish inhabitants, who are not numerous, have the government and the best part of the commerce; the Chinese are the artisans; and the soil is chiefly cultivated by the natives. These latter are of various origins, and of different degrees of savageness, according as they have been more or less subdued by religion, or refined by intercourse with strangers. For so large and fertile an island the number of inhabitants are but small; the whole, perhaps, not amounting to half a million, and of those not a third are in subjection to the Spaniards.

The rest of the Philippine islands, so far as the Spanish power prevails in them, are under the government of Luconia; but there are many of them, in which that nation has little authority, or even influence. There are in all about fourteen of them which deserve notice.

The capital of Luconia, and of all these islands, and, indeed, the only respectable place in them is Manila, situated to the south east of the island, and lying upon a very fair and spacious harbour. The buildings, both publick and pri-

Yate, being mostly of wood, have as much magnificence as such materials are capable of; and the churches, in particular, are very splendidly adorned. The Spaniards are discouraged from building with more durable materials by the terrible earthquakes, to which the island is extremely liable. By them the city has been more than once shaken to the ground. This calamity is so frequent and dreadful, as, in a great measure, to counterbalance all the advantages of so rich a soil, and so desirable a climate.

The Spanish inhabitants, within the city, are about three thousand. Ten thousand Chinese occupy a large suburb called the Parian.

On the conquest of China by the Tartars, in the last century, great numbers fled their country, filling all the considerable towns, not only of the Philippines, but of the Moluccas and Sunda islands, with an ingenious and industrious people, who brought with them, and diffused into all these countries, the skill of manufacture and the spirit of commerce. The conquest of China had nearly the same effect in this part of the world, which the revocation of the edict of Nantz produced in ours. Besides the Parian, there are several other suburbs of great extent contiguous to this city, inhabited by forty thousand of the native Indians, or by that mixed breed so common in all the Spanish colonies, resulting from that great variety of races of men, who originally inhabited, or came as adventurers, or were brought as slaves, into their extensive dominions.

From this short account it is visible, that the acquisition of such a place must have proved of very great advantage towards carrying on the war with Spain effectually, and could not, therefore, fail of having an advantageous influence on the terms of pacification. Accordingly it was resolved to make an attempt upon the Manilas, from a plan of operations delivered to the ministry by colonel Draper; and perhaps the reader will be glad to know how this plan came to be formed.

After the memorable defence of Madras in 1759, colonel Draper's bad state of health obliged him to leave that country. He embarked, in company with the honourable captain Howe, then commander of the *Winchelsea*, for Canton in China, a city with which the inhabitants of Manila carry on a considerable trade. Here they wisely spent that time of relaxation from military operations, in attaining such knowledge of the Philippine islands, as might afterwards be serviceable to their country, giving a lesson to all men in public employment, that at times when they cannot perform an active service, they may still do a material one by wise attention and sensible observation. They discovered, that the Spaniards of the Philippine islands, confiding in their remote distance from Europe, supposed an attack upon them impracticable, and were by that fatal security, which is always the consequence of an ill-founded confidence, lulled into a total inattention to a regular military strength.

Upon the first rumour of a war with Spain, lord Anson and lord Egremont were made acquainted with these observations concerning the state of the Philippine islands; they gave that attention to the information, which the importance of it justly merited. They ordered colonel Draper to give his ideas in writing; assuring him, that, if the war should become unavoidable by the Spaniards joining with France, they would recommend the undertaking to his majesty. The memorial upon the subject was greatly improved by the naval experience and judgment of captain Howe, who possesses all the noble qualities of his illustrious family.

The motives for the undertaking (exclusive of the popular and dazzling notions of booty and plunder) were very serious and interesting, both in a commercial and political light. For Manila, in the possession of an enterprising people, is capable of ruining the whole China trade of any other, as the port of Cavite can build, fit out, and man ve-

ry large ships of war, which, if properly stationed, no vessels could possibly escape, unless protected by a squadron. Besides, with Manila in our hands, we might at all times depend on the proper respect being shewn to our flag in the ports of that extensive empire. On the other hand, the objections to the enterprize were not inconsiderable. It was impossible to spare either ships or troops from England for the conquest, as the additional weight of Spain in the scale of France demanded the utmost exertion of our powers nearer home. The vast distance of the object, and the uncertainty of the time, in which the expedition could be undertaken, were, besides, no small difficulties: but they were soon obviated. Nothing was demanded but a light frigate to carry colonel Draper to Madras, where alone suitable preparations could be made for this important enterprize.

The colonel arrived at Madras the latter end of June, 1762, and on his arrival was appointed brigadier-general and commander in chief of the expedition, which was to be undertaken solely by the troops and squadron then in India. No doubt, as we were become arbiters of the great peninsula of India, by the total expulsion of the French, and by the humiliation of the Dutch, this attempt became more feasible. However, as this dominion was new, and rather entered upon than firmly established, something was to be dreaded even from the natives; and, therefore, from this peninsula (the only place from which such an attempt could be made with any prospect of success) so great a force could not be employed, as the difficulty and importance of the enterprize seemed to require. But the spirit of the troops, and the celerity and judgment with which the preparations were made, compensated every deficiency.

The seventy-ninth regiment was the only regular corps that could be spared. But this corps was, by reputation, by service, and by being long inured to the climate, almost e-

qual to an army. By this regiment the progress of the French in India had been first stopped. They had contributed not a little to the happy turn and decision of that war, under colonel Coote; and they were now chosen to extend the glory of the English arms to the utmost verge of Asia. A company of artillery, and a body of seamen and marines, were appointed to act with them. Some companies of seapoys, (Indian soldiers who serve after the European manner) were added. In the whole, the force for the land operations amounted to two thousand three hundred men. The naval force consisted of nine men of war and frigates, besides some store-ships.

The command of the land forces in this expedition was given, as before mentioned, to brigadier-general Draper. Nobody was more perfectly acquainted with the service in that part of the world; and nobody had shewn greater zeal to forward it. It was impossible to forget the merit he had in the preservation of Madras, and in giving the East India war, against Mr. Lally, the first turn in our favour. Admiral Cornish commanded the marines; a brave and able officer, and worthy to co-operate with such a general, in such an important service. In three weeks the preparations for forming this body, and getting ready all the stores, were begun, compleated, and the whole shipped through a raging and perpetual surf, which in those climates is one of the greatest difficulties in any expedition, extremely embarrassing the embarkation, and rendering still more hazardous the debarkation, of troops, especially in the face of an enemy, who know how to profit by this advantage.

The celerity of those preparations was necessary. In the East Indies, they are obliged to regulate all their motions by the course of the monsoons. The season for the expedition was far advanced, when the plan and orders arrived; and, if the north west monsoon should set in with any degree of violence, before they were advanced on their voy-

age, the success of the whole enterprize would have been rendered exceedingly precarious. There was, besides, another consideration, which demanded all possible haste; this was, that the English army might come to its destination, before the news of a war being actually broke out between England and Spain could reach the Manilas, and, by rousing the Spaniards from their ill-grounded security, give them time to put themselves into the best posture of defence.

The judgment with which every arrangement was made equalled the celerity of the preparations. A ship of force was dispatched before the fleet through the freights of Malacca, in order to watch the entrance of the Chinese sea, and to intercept whatever vessels might be bound to Manila, or sent from the neighbouring settlements, to give the Spaniards notice of the design. As it was necessary to take in water at Malacca, a division of the squadron, with a considerable force, was sent off the twenty-ninth of July, 1762, before the rest could be got ready, in order that a moment of superfluous delay might not happen to the fleet in procuring this necessary refreshment.

Before they sailed, every thing was settled with relation to the co-operation of the land and sea forces, to the distribution of the plunder, and to the government of the place, in case it should be taken, that no dispute might arise in the course of their operations. The East-India company were, by agreement, to have a third of the booty, or the ransom; by orders from England, the government of the conquered country was to be vested in that body; the land and sea forces, by common consent, were mutually to participate in the distribution of their several captures, according to the rules established in the navy. These precautions had so good an effect, that no circumstance of disagreement once arose between the army and the marine, either in the conduct of the enterprize, or in the division of the advantages

of it. Nothing distinguishes this war more from every former war, in which we have been engaged, than that, in so many conjunct expeditions, and in such a vast variety of difficulties and services, there was so perfect an harmony, and so cordial a co-operation between the land and sea forces, that there is not a single instance of the least degree of dissension between them. Nothing can more advantageously characterise the spirit of the age.

All things being thus judiciously disposed, and all difficulties foreseen and provided for, the last and grand division of the fleet set sail from Madras the first of August 1762. On the 19th of the same month they arrived safe at Malacca, formerly considered as the key of the Indian commerce, and still the center of a very considerable trade. It had formerly been disputed between the then great naval powers in India, Portugal and Holland, as a port of the utmost moment in determining the absolute sovereignty in those seas, because it commands the grand communication between China and Indostan, and that it is a situation, which has a considerable influence on all the islands that composed the great Indian Archipelago. But at this time, so great was the revolution in this part of Asia, and the superiority of the English was such, that it was of no great moment to them, in whose hands Malacca was. The Dutch, who could look with no very favourable eye upon our progress in those eastern regions, were neither in spirit nor condition to give any check to it. The English fleet used Malacca as a port of their own, and there they supplied themselves, not only with refreshments, but with every necessary not already provided for the siege they meditated.

The weather favoured them very much. Without the least distress to the Squadron, or the dispersion of any of the ships which composed it, in thirty-one days from Malacca, they came in sight of Luconia, the nineteenth of September. At that time, indeed, the Squadron was separated, and

driven out to sea, but they soon recovered the shore, and again completed their junction.

When the British armament arrived upon the coast of Lucania, they found the Spaniards absolutely unacquainted with the breaking out of the war, consequently unprepared, and in all that confusion, which necessarily attends a sudden and precipitate disposition against an attack. That they might have as little time as possible to recover from this confusion, so favourable to our enterprize, it was determined that the forces should be landed, and the operations commenced immediately.

A small fort and town lay upon the harbour of Cavite, which was conveniently situated to strengthen Manila, and might afford an useful station for ships during the siege. The first idea was to begin with the attack of this fort; but on consultation between Mr. Draper and the admiral, it was concluded more adviseable to proceed directly to the grand object, judging very properly, that a conquest there would of course occasion, and draw after it the fall of Cavite. The delay naturally attendant on the first plan would have given time to the Spaniards to recover their spirits, dismayed by the sudden appearance of an enemy upon their coasts, which had been long unaccustomed to the alarms of war; they would have had leisure to clear away the buildings which obstructed their fortifications, to put their works in repair, and to take every step towards an orderly, and therefore, probably, an effectual defence. Besides, the shifting of the monsoons began to display itself by very evident and alarming signs. The weather grew uncertain and menacing; the rain began to pour down in torrents; the winds became boisterous; and it was greatly to be feared, that, if the operations should be drawn into any considerable length, the overflowing of the country would have made all approaches to the place by land impracticable, whilst the tempestuous weather would have rendered the

assistance of the squadron precarious in the siege, and even its safety very doubtful.

The dispositions for landing were made a little to the south of the town. The boats were ranged in three divisions, under the protection of the men of war. Frigates were ordered to the right and left, by a brisk fire to cover their flanks, and to disperse the enemy, who began to assemble in great numbers, both horse and foot, to oppose the descent. Measures were so well taken, that the enemy retired from the fire of the squadron, and left the coast clear. The English with an even front made towards the shore, and through a violent surf, which dashed many of their boats to pieces (but fortunately without any loss of lives) gained the coast, and formed upon the beach, the twenty-fourth of September.

The days which immediately succeeded their landing were spent in seizing the most advantageous posts, in securing the communication with the navy, and in reconnoitering the roads and approaches to the town. They found it regularly fortified, and defended by some good works, a number of excellent cannon, garrisoned by about eight hundred regular troops, and incapable by its extent of being compleatly invested by such an army as ours, and in a condition, therefore, of being constantly supplied from the country, and re-inforced by the natives, a fierce and daring people, who in a short time came to the assistance of the place with a body of ten thousand men, armed in their barbarous fashion.

The governor was, indeed, a churchman, the archbishop of the Manilas, by a policy not wholly without precedent in the Spanish colonies, in which they have been known more than once to unite not only the civil government but the command of the forces, with the ecclesiastical dignity. But however unqualified by his character, for the defence of a city attacked, the archbishop seemed not unfit

for it by his spirit and resolution. These, together with the obstructions which arose from the season (which grew daily more embarrassing) were the difficulties our army had to contend with. On the other hand they had many circumstances in their favour. The ditch of the town, in some important parts, had never been compleated; the covert-way was out of repair; the glacis was too low; some of the out-works were not armed; and the suburbs, which they had not time to burn, afforded shelter to our troops, and covered them in their approaches.

The ability of the commanders, and the spirit of the troops, made use of all these advantages, and overcame all these difficulties. The country being almost wholly flooded, they were obliged to throw themselves into the houses, which were under the fire of the bastions, and the Spaniards cannonaded their quarters, which were nearer to the walls than the ordinary rules of war prescribed. Necessity superseded these rules; and even the precipitation with which they were obliged to urge their motions had a good effect, and probably hastened the decision of the siege in their favour sooner than could be expected by a more regular proceeding, and more favourable circumstances.

Before batteries could be erected, the enemy attempted a sally with about four hundred men, on the twenty-sixth of September. But this essay of their strength proved extremely discouraging to them, and they were obliged to retire with loss and precipitation. The superior skill and bravery of our troops appeared in so striking a light in this little engagement, that it was thought it might prove an inducement to the governor to endeavour at advantageous terms by an early surrender. But his answer to the summons of our commander was more spirited than the behaviour of his garrison had hitherto proved. It was plain we had to expect nothing but what we were able to command. Through all the difficulties of the season our works proceeded, and by the indefatigable vigour and unconquerable

spirit of our soldiers and seamen, three batteries for cannon and mortars were raised, and played on the town with considerable effect. The Indians from time to time continued their attack; but they rather molested our troops, than obstructed their progress. Equally ignorant of the laws of humanity and arms, they murdered our people, wherever they met them dispersed from the army; and even perpetrated the same cruelty on an English officer, employed under the protection of a flag of truce, and of an act of generosity to an enemy, in conducting into the town the governor's nephew, who had been taken. Their savage cruelty entitled them to no mercy; and whenever they fell into the hands of the English soldiers, they found none.

As little success attended the attempt in which this cruel action was committed, as they met with in their former fall. The operations against the town proceeded with unremitted vigour and diligence. The bombardment continued day and night. The navy, who had hitherto assisted no otherwise than by furnishing men and stores (in which however, it was of the greatest service) began now to take a direct part. They placed themselves as near the town as the depth of water would admit, and began a fire in order to second the operations of the land forces, by enflaming the front they proposed to attack. Although the shallows obliged the ships to keep at too great a distance to have all the effect they wished, this fire, which was opened on a new quarter, and was kept up without intermission, added not a little to the fatigue of the garrison, and to the confusion and terror of the inhabitants.

Whilst the siege advanced in so successful a manner by the perseverance, and by the uncommon harmony and united efforts of the land and sea forces, the first of October, the elements threatened to destroy at once all the effects of their industry and courage. A deluge of rain poured down, accompanied by a mighty storm of wind. The squadron was

in the greatest danger; all communication with it was entirely cut off. A storeship, which had lately arrived, and contained the greatest part of the tools and necessaries, of which they were now in the greatest want for completing their works, was driven on shore. The governor of the place added to the advantage of these appearances in his favour, by calling in the aid of his ecclesiastical character. To raise the spirits of the inhabitants, sunk by the progress of the besiegers, he gave out that an angel from the Lord was gone forth to destroy the English like the host of Sennacherib.

By an extraordinary species of good fortune, these menacing circumstances were attended with their particular advantages, and rather facilitated than obstructed the progress of the siege. The storeships, by being driven ashore, without any considerable damage, gave an easy and ready access to all the military stores she contained, and which, if it had not been for this accident, could not have been supplied by boats in many days, as the wind continued to blow for a long time after, and that a violent surf broke high upon the beach. Besides, in the situation in which this vessel lay on shore, her cannon became, in a great degree, a protection to the rear of the English camp. At the same time, the confidence which the enemy reposed in the natural helps derived from the storm, and in those supernatural ones added by their superstition, rendered them more remiss and languid in their defence; and during that time they gave less obstruction to the progress of our troops, than in any other period of the siege. Another advantage also arose to the English from the storm; for the roaring of the waves prevented the Spaniards from hearing the noise of our workmen in the night.

Every circumstance of the storm, by a fortunate turn, or by a judicious management, became favourable to the attack, and they proceeded with so much constancy and resolution, that in the midst of this violent tempest, and deluged

as they were with the heavy tropical rains, they compleated one large battery for heavy cannon, and another for mortars, made good their parallels and communications, secured their most material posts, and put themselves in a condition, immediately on the ceasing of the storm, to batter the place in breach.

Twelve pieces of cannon, on that face of the bastion which they attacked, were silenced in a few hours, and so vigorous a fire was kept up from the cannon and mortars upon all the parts, whence the Spaniards could annoy our troops, that in less than two days all their defences were destroyed. The Spaniards, seeing their fortifications no longer tenable, determined to make a conclusive effort, and to avail themselves of the strength of the garrison, which their free communication with the country had made as numerous as they could wish. For that purpose they projected a sally, disposed in two attacks, upon the two most important posts of the English. The first was to be made upon a cantonment of the seamen, in which they judged, if they could succeed, they must lay the English under unsurmountable difficulties, because the seamen were known to have had the most considerable part in the management of the artillery during the whole siege. A thousand Indians were to be employed in the operation.

The second body, consisting of Indians, and of a strong detachment from the Spanish garrison, were to attack a church, which lay near the sea, covered a flank of the army, and had been of great consequence for protecting the besiegers in their approaches, both against the enemy's fire and the inundation. An attack had been made, as we have before related, upon this post, and they thought it of importance enough to justify a second. These designs were not ill conceived, and they were executed with sufficient resolution.

About three hours before day on the fourth of October, the Indians marched out upon the first attack. They were

much encouraged by the incessant fall of rain, which they flattered themselves would have rendered our fire arms useless. As for themselves, they had nothing to apprehend, habituated as they were to the accidents of that climate, and armed only with bows and lances. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick bushes, that grew upon the side of a rivulet, which they passed in the night. By keeping close to them, they eluded the vigilance of the patrols, and fell unexpectedly, and with infinite violence, upon the quarters of the seamen. Although surprised and assaulted in the night, when they could discern nothing of the enemy, but the fury of its attack, they maintained their ground with steadiness, and repelled the enemy. Prudently satisfied with this advantage, and not risking it by an attempt to improve it, they remained firmly in their post until day-break, when a picquet of the seventy-ninth regiment came to their relief, and falling upon the right flank of the Indians, these barbarians fled, were pursued, and routed, with the loss of three hundred men.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the Asiatic Indians of the peninsula of Malacca, and, in general, of all their islands, should differ so extremely from the Chinese, and every other nation of the eastern continent. The former are as distinguished for their fierce valour, and for a singular contempt of death, as the latter have always been for their cowardice, and the softness and effeminacy of their manners. In our wars on the Indian continent, the European troops were almost the only object of attention. In our attack upon the Philippines, the natives were, at least, to be equally dreaded. In this sally, had their discipline or arms been at all equal to their strength or ferocity, the issue of the event had been very doubtful. Even armed as they were, they boldly rushed on the very muzzles of our pieces; on every repulse they repeated their assaults with redoubled fury; and died at length, like wild beasts, gnawing the bayonets of their enemies,

The second attack, which began just as they had been defeated in the former, appeared at first, in a manner, more favourable to the hopes of the Spaniards. The body of seapoys, which defended the church, which was the object of this attack, not being endowed with the resolution which distinguishes our English seamen, were easily dislodged, and driven from their post. The enemy, as soon as they had seized the church, immediately climbed to the top, and from thence poured down a storm of fire on our people who were posted behind it, and who now lay exposed to their shot. In this disadvantageous position, the European soldiers maintained themselves with resolution and patience, until a detachment with ten field pieces came to their relief. The Spaniards were at length driven off with the loss of seventy men: nor were we freed from this resolute attack without loss on our side, a brave officer having fallen, and forty men being killed or wounded in the encounter.

This was the enemy's last effort. They were now confined to the walls. Discouraged by their frequent and bloody repulses, the greatest part of the Indians returned home. The fire of the batteries, which had been a little interrupted by these attacks, recommenced with greater spirit, and with a more decisive effect than ever; so that the next day the enemy's cannon were all silenced, and the breach appeared practicable.

Any other people but the Spaniards of this garrison in these circumstances would have immediately prepared a capitulation, when no law of honour, because no prospect of success, required a further defence; at least, if they had desperately resolved on the last extremity, they would have made such works, and posted their men in such a manner, as to have made the first attempt to storm as desperate on our side, as this too late defence was on theirs. But their resolution was only a sullen obstinacy, uninspired by a true military spirit, as it was wholly uninformed by any true military skill.

Our commander, not finding any desire of capitulating in the enemy, on the sixth of October, prepared, without delay, and with the most judicious arrangements, for the storm. All our troops were gradually and privately assembled in proper posts, so as to give the enemy no alarm or notice of the design; whilst the batteries kept a continual fire, in order to clear every part of the works, from whence we might apprehend any molestation. This fire had so good an effect, that a body of Spaniards, who had begun to assemble on the bastion, which was the object of the attack, were dispersed by the explosion of some shells.

The English took immediate advantage of this event. By the signal of a general discharge of their artillery and mortars, and under the cover of a thick smok, which blew directly upon the town, they rushed on to the assault. Sixty volunteers of different corps led the way, supported by the grenadiers of the seventy-ninth regiment. A body of pioneers to clear the breach, and, if necessary, to make lodgments, followed; a battalion of seamen advanced next, supported by two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment; the troops of the East India company closed the rear.

Disposed in this excellent order; led by officers in whom they had the utmost confidence, and animated by the prospect of a speedy conclusion of their labours, they mounted the breach with amazing spirit and rapidity. The Spaniards dispersed in a moment; the British troops advanced with little resistance into the city, and completed the conquest. An hundred Spaniards and Indians posted in a guard-house refused quarter, and were cut to pieces. Three hundred more, who endeavoured to escape over a deep and rapid river, were drowned in the attempt. The governor retired into the citadel; but as that place was not tenable, he soon surrendered at discretion. Influenced by a generosity familiar to our commanders, and willing to preserve so noble a city from destruction, general Draper and the admiral,

though able to command every thing, admitted the inhabitants to a capitulation, by which they enjoyed their liberties, lives, properties, and the administration of their domestic government. A ransom of a million sterling purchased these terms. And thus Great Britain, after a siege, short indeed in the duration, but considerable for its difficulties and hardships, became possessed of this important place. They found here every refreshment fit to recruit the troops after their fatigues, and abundance of all stores necessary to refit the squadron. The surrender of Manila comprehended that not only of the whole country, of which it is the capital, but of all those numerous and valuable islands which are its dependencies.

During the siege, admiral Cornish received intelligence by the capture of an advice-ship, that the galleon from Acapulco was arrived at the straits which form the entrance into the Archipelago of the Philippines. This intelligence was not to be neglected. The acquisition of so rich a prize must greatly enhance the value of a conquest, and not a little compensate the disadvantage of a repulse. On the fourth of October, two ships of the squadron, the Panther man of war and the Argo frigate, were therefore immediately dispatched after her.

In twenty-six days, the Argo discovered in the evening a sail, which they did not doubt to be the same they looked for. But just as she approached her object, by the rapidity of a counter current, she was drove among the shallows, and her chace not only became uncertain, but the frigate herself was in the utmost danger of being lost. In this condition she was obliged to cast anchor. But by strenuous exertion and dexterous management she soon escaped the danger, got under sail, overtook the galleon, and began a hot engagement with her, which continued for two hours. Fortune seemed again uncertain. The Argo was so unequally matched and so roughly received by the Spaniard,

that she was obliged to desist from the engagement, and to bring to, in order to repair the damage she had suffered.

In this pause of action the current slackened; the Panther came under sail, with the galleon in sight, and about nine the next morning got up to her. It was not until she had battered her for two hours, with half musket shot, that she struck.

The English were surpris'd to find so obstinate a resistance, with so little activity of opposition. In her first engagement with the Argo, this galleon mounted only six guns, though she was pierced for sixty. She had but thirteen in her engagement with the Panther; but she was a huge vessel; she lay like a mountain in the water, and the Spaniards trusted entirely to the extensive thickness of her sides, not altogether without reason; for the shot made no impression on any part, except her upper works.

Another, and more disagreeable subject of surprise, occurred upon the striking of the enemy. They then discovered that this vessel was not the American galleon, but that from Manila bound to Acapulco. She had proceeded a considerable way on her voyage, but meeting with a hard gale of wind in the great South Sea, she was dismasted, and obliged to put back to refit. Though the captors were disappointed in the treasure they expected, their capture, however, proved a prize of immense value. Her cargo was computed to be, in rich merchandize, worth more than half a million.

Through the whole of this victorious war, there was scarcely any conquest more advantageous in itself, nor more honourably achieved, than that of the Philippines. The British forces effected their landing before Manila on the twenty-fourth of September, their battery of cannon was not compleated until the third of October, and on the sixth they were masters of the city. In this enterprize the number of troops employed was small; the season of operation rainy and tempestuous, the communication between the

land and sea forces always difficult, frequently hazardous, and sometimes impracticable; and our little army surrounded and harrassed, and as it were besieged itself, by numerous bodies of Indians, who, though undisciplined and ill armed, yet, by a daring resolution and contempt of death, became not only troublesome, but formidable.

With regard to the value of the acquisition, a territory fell into our hands, consisting of fourteen considerable islands, which, from their extent, fertility, and convenience of commerce, furnished the materials of a great kingdom. By this acquisition, joined to our former successes, we secured all the avenues of the Spanish trade, and interrupted all the communications between the parts of their vast but unconnected empire. The conquest of the Havannah had cut off, in a great measure, the intercourse of their wealthy continental colonies with Europe. The reduction of the Philippines excluded them from Asia; and from both they were liable to be further and most essentially offended, if it had been our true interest to have continued longer a war, which the calamities of mankind loudly called upon us to put an end to. The plunder taken was far more than sufficient to indemnify the charges of the expedition; a circumstance not very usual in our modern wars. It amounted to upwards of a million and a half; of which the East-India company, on whom the charge of the enterprize in a great measure lay, were, by contract, as we have already mentioned, to have a third part.

That nothing might be wanting to the brilliancy of this conquest, the voyage home was attended with as favourable a fortune as the operations of the siege. The express left Manila, on the twelfth of November, and arrived in London the fourth of April following. One could not have allowed, in ordinary reckoning, so little time for the mere voyage, as this long voyage and this great conquest were both accomplished in. General Draper arrived as soon as

his express, and jointly with the admiral, was honoured with the thanks of his country.

The college in which this meritorious officer was bred, and of which at the time of this acquisition he was a member, had the satisfaction of being graced with the trophies of his victory. The general desired, and the king consented, that the colours taken at Manila should be hung up in their chapel. There could not be a finer object in such a place, before the eyes of the rising generation. They might learn from thence how letters and arms may be combined; and that there is no department of life to which the cultivation of the mind by study is foreign; that, in most cases, it contributes to the effect, and in all, to the lustre of the services which we render our country.

This was the last of our conquests; and the nation, already in full enjoyment of the sweets of peace, had still the satisfaction to receive, from the remotest parts of the globe, the news of victories, which augment her honour and her riches. There never had been a period more fortunate to Great Britain. She had conquered in the course of this war a tract of continent of immense extent. Her American territory approached to the borders of Asia; came very near the frontiers of the Russian and Chinese dominions; and it may one day become as powerful as either of these empires. She had conquered twenty-five islands, all of them distinguishable for their magnitude, their riches, or the importance of their situation. She had won by sea and land, in the course of this war, twelve battles; she had reduced nine fortified cities and towns, and near forty forts and castles; she had destroyed or taken above an hundred ships of war from her enemies; and acquired at least ten millions in plunder.



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